

Some Records of crime
vol. 2

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SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF A

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PARTICULAR, OF AN
THUGGEE AND DA

BY

GENERAL CHARLES HERVEY, C

(SOMETIME GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE OPERATIONS FOR THE SUPPRESSION
OF THUGGEE AND DACOITIE IN INDIA)

Ut jugulent homines surgunt de nocte latrones.—HORACE

VOL. II.

LONDON

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & COMPANY

Limited

St. Dunstan's House

FETTER LANE, FINSBURY, E.C.

1892

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LD.,
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLEVELAND-ROW, E.C.

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SOME RECORDS OF GRIME.

1867.

17th April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—Mons. Thiers' ^{American} ^{môt.} exclamation in summing up the political blunders of the *Emperor Louis Napoleon*, in his late speech in the Chamber of Deputies, *Il n'y a plus une seule faute à commettre*, has been telegraphed from Paris to America by a clever Yankee, thus, "All the blunders are completely used up" !

Ranken, who has charge of our depôt at Jubbulpore, is desirous of a system of regular annual reliefs of the Nujeebs out on our command parties. ^{Nujeeb} ^{Reliefs.} The objection to this is, that the arrangement, as a hard and fast rule, would bring work by command parties to a standstill during the long time required for the reliefs to reach their several destinations, our strength being too limited to admit of the places of the several relieved and relieving parties being meanwhile supplied.

In the troublesome criminal statistics I am additionally charged with, for the nine administrations forming British territory, and am now engaged in preparing by slow degrees for the three years for which they are due (1864, 1865, ^{The} ^{Murder of} ^{a Jain} ^{Priest.}

1866,) there occurs to-day, à propos to what I have said of Mr. Reily's special work down in Bengal (p. 450, vol. i.,) the following harrowing tale of a case of *Thuggee by poisoning*, one of the series inquired into and unravelled by him. There was a *Jain* temple at *Pandooke*, near *Bhaugulpore*, in Bengal. The two servants of it were discovered one morning, now kicking about on the ground, now reeling about as if intoxicated and *págul* or mad-like, while the head priest or *Poojáree* himself, was nowhere to be seen. Three days subsequently his corpse was found in a pit or dry well, about half a mile distant from the temple. The medical evidence pointed to *poison* as the probable cause of the man's death, but, as in all cases of vegetable poisoning, the venom was not discoverable in the contents of the stomach. The two drugged servants—who recovered—were, with two others, charged with the murder, but were acquitted. In their defence they attributed the deed to two pilgrims who had slept, they declared, at the temple that night—that they had not only poisoned them, but were also the murderers of the priest. And there the case had for some time been left. In the course of Mr. Reily's inquiries into the cases of poisoning so prevalent at that time in that direction (*vide* p. 38, vol. i.,) a man named *Phoolchand* was arrested as one of a gang of professional poisoners charged in several other cases of murder. He confessed, and included in his confessions *his complicity in the murder of the priest*; and, in the list of his accomplices, he gave

the name of a man, one *Phódoo a Nápit* (barber caste,) who was thereupon arrested, and both he and the other were formally admitted as *approvers*. According to them, the case happened in this wise. They and some others (of whom one, *Gopaul*, was the personal friend of the priest, for whom he used to read and write, whose debts he used to collect, and whose property he was left in charge of, even to the keys of his treasure, when the *Poojúree*, a time back, went to Patna to marry,) together proceeded by concert one evening, some in a bullock cart others on foot, "to make an offering to the *Tháikoor*" or idol in the temple. Some sweetmeats were purchased for the purpose, which being brought to a garden in the neighbourhood, were divided into four parts, and placed in four *dhônas* (a kind of box formed of leaves, in which sweetstuffs meant for presentation are usually carried.) The man *Gopaul* now mixed some powdered *datoora seed* or *bookni*, in the meats in one of those receptacles, and handed it over to the head man of the gang, one *Chutturdhári*, as the proposed offering. The latter accompanied by *Gopaul* and another named *Juggurnáth* (escaped into *Nipál*,) tendered it to the priest, who presented it in due form to the idol, and then, as was usual, began to divide it among the three. They persuaded him to keep the whole of it for himself, as they had three other *dhônas* for themselves. The priest thereupon ate some of the drugged sweetmeat, and going into the outer courtyard, gave some of it to

the two temple attendants. This at about seven o'clock the same evening; and the poisoners lingered in the precincts of the temple, on the pretence that "they would wait to hear the Thakoor's evening hymn." In the darkening gloom, just before the night lamp was lighted within the inner shrine, an aged woman, almost the last act of devotion of the closing day, crept in to be advised by the priest, and as silently stole away, and a lame old man struggled up to offer to the idol his obeisance and salutation, or *durshun*, and slowly limped out again. All then became silent and was dark, save the glimmer from the uncertain night light within the innermost recess of the idol's *sanctum*. And now soon, the priest became insensible—and as the two drugged attendants were lying in the outer court under the same influence, and the two or three other usual servitors had gone away to a distant *burt-mêla* or charity fair, the lurking wretches decided to kill the priest outright and plunder his wealth stowed away, as the man Gopaul knew, in a *málkhána* or secret treasure-place within a certain inner room, and they proceeded to carry out their fell purpose accordingly. The unconscious priest was lying inside of the inner courtyard, under the verandah of the shrine itself. One scoundrel clutched and squeezed his throat, another sat heavily upon his chest, a third held his hands, while a fourth horribly trampled where of itself a fatal result might be reckoned upon: "The priest did not speak, but flapped about his hands and feet, and that was why his hands were held."

The helpless victim became convulsed and died. Four others of the gang then lifted away the corpse, while the others plundered the treasure. They brought out four sacks of it, "each about a cubit long," which they placed within the cart outside, one of which sacks, according to the cart driver, "clinked as though heavy with metal money." The latter witness saw the dead body as it was brought out, and recognized it to be *that of the priest*. The case was tried before the Sessions Judge of *Bhangulpore*, who convicted all the prisoners (seven in number,) of murder, and sentenced three of them to death (*Chutturdhári, Gopaul and Shunkur*.) and the other four to transportation for life. It was then reviewed on appeal before the High Court at Calcutta, the Judges being *Messrs. Norman and George Campbell*, the appealing convicts being represented by two able leading members of the Calcutta Bar, *Mr. Montrion and Baboo Aushotush Dhur*. The appeal resulted in the confirmation of the conviction and sentence of death passed upon *Chutturdhári and Gopaul*, and of the sentence of transportation for life upon one man only of the other group of convicts. The other prisoners were acquitted, including the man *Shunkur* who had been sentenced to be hanged. The cartman was tried as an accessory after the fact, and was also released. In concurring with this decision, Mr. Campbell observed, *more suo*: "I have seen a great deal of the working of detective departments, and I well know, that while well worked they have led to great results, they are also very liable to abuse. An accepted

Our
Special
Measures
decried.

approver regularly employed by the defendant, a villain of the deepest dye according to his own showing (a favourite and oft-used expression by our decriers,) seems to the people to have life and death in his hands ; those whom he denounces are carried before a dreaded inquisitorial tribunal, and those whom he spares are exempted." Mr. Campbell, as Judicial Commissioner for *Oudh*, has had several of our cases before him (of trials upon the committals of Chamberlain, my assistant at Lucknow,) and I do not remember that he was at all seriously opposed to any of them. *Non tali auxilio*—the occasion requires other aids—I would say of ordinary police procedure when advocated against our special operations, and have said, and Sleeman before me, on all such occasions ; and I would merely point to the enormity of the crimes the special detective police are employed to put down, *ex gr.*, the terrible tragedy just narrated, one only of a vast number ! No one, moreover, has been able to devise a better plan for putting down the evil than the course pursued by the Thuggee Department—and as to the employment by us of *approvers* ("a coarse means," as I have myself always admitted, but capable of being safeguarded,) it is a well-known maxim that the best governments are often obliged to have recourse to the worst means on unusual occasions, when they would not, as I have often replied, wantonly subject peaceable people to the oppression and cruelties of the lawless.¹ I do

¹ P.S.—A police system is essentially of an arbitrary and despotic character. From the operation expected of it, and it is

not, however, perceive the contention in Mr. Campbell's observation as to the implied *previous* employment by the defendant Chutturdhári, of the approvers in the case referred to, while they were yet at large, and were not yet approvers. Both of the approvers concerned in the case, were members of the gang, and they of course were, equally with every other member of it, subject to the orders of the leaders of it, and would do ordinary offices for them; and it does not, too, seem that either of them at all spared the two leaders themselves when giving evidence in a Court of Justice! Chutturdhári, the chief ruffian, would seem to have waxed wealthy, and to have acquired influence at Bhaugulpore consequent on his ill-gotten gains, and to have, after the

susceptible of, it should be more properly regarded as an appendage only, to the more regular system of judicial administration. This was the opinion of a high judicial authority: "Its perfectibility, in fact, is irreconcilable with the existence of institutions which protect the rights of individuals in free countries; so that we find a well-organized and perfect police only in those states where arbitrary principles of government permit its free and unobstructed range—yet even in the metropolis of the British Empire, where there exists such a jealousy in respect to personal restraint, probably not a day passes in which some act is not committed by the subordinate ministers of our police, in violation, strictly speaking, of the liberty of the subject. . . . In criticizing a system of police, as well as a system of summary jurisdiction which partakes of the same arbitrary complexion, we must, especially in countries like India, rather look to the practical operation of the system, than consider it as a regular theory of government to be judged according to the principles which constitute the basis of what is popularly understood by the term law. The case is indeed different when express legislative provisions" (ex gr., the special laws for the suppression of Thuggee, Dacoity and other professional criminal classes,) "*regulate any part of this otherwise irregular system.*"—Sir Edward West to the grand jury at Bombay.

murder, been even employed as a *Mookhtaar*, or estate agent, where he resided. Both condemned men, *Chutturdhári* and *Gopaul*, were hanged in sight of the turrets of the temple where they had murdered the priest. I regretted, however, the respite and release of the rest of their convicted associates.

Poor
Concert.

To Madam Bishop's concert again—a very thin attendance—few here being able to afford five rupees for a ticket of admission.

18th April, *Hamilton Hotel, Delhi*.—The weather still stormy, and consequently still in a measure cool, for it has not yet been so very hot as it was where I was this time last year, or as the year before.

Hindoo
Pilgrims.

A very large concourse of Hindoo pilgrims has been flocking to the great periodical fair now being held at *Hurdwár*, the great “gate” of the *Ganges*, or point where the *Ganges*, after tortuous and difficult course through the mountainous regions of the *Himálaya*, first enters the plains. The river is veiled in snow and ice, and lost to sight and to all perception, at a point two or three miles above *Gungôtri*, its outlet. This disappearance of it being regarded as mysterious, the name of *Bhagiráthi* became attached to the imperceivable portion of the river, and it was given out that this *Bhagiráthi* formed a junction underground, and was married to the *Ganges* once every twelve years. The supposed event, professed to be carefully brought down from the remotest times, is taken occasion of for the assemblage at *Hurdwár*, of a vaster concourse of devotees than at the

Myth
about the
Ganges.

usual annual fairs held at the same place. On the first occasion of the declared union, the name of the lost river was transferred to the Ganges itself, which was consequently itself called the *Bhagiráthi*, that name attaching to it along almost its entire course from *Gungôtri* till nearly the *Soondurbuns* below Calcutta, and from end to end thereof was declared to be sacred and holy; but *Gunga* is its more common name. So much for the superstition or fable. But in point of fact the priestly Brahmin astronomers computed (I believe correctly,) that Jupiter was in Aries when the sun entered Aquarius, or "*Koombh*," every twelfth year; and they ordained therefore, that the occasion should be held as auspicious, and ablution in the waters of the sacred river be performed preferably at Hurdwár, where the river first issued to accessible regions; or if the distance to that place were too great, then at the other points of the holy stream usually resorted to. Thus there is a greatly increased gathering of people at Hurdwár from all parts every twelve years, and particularly of *Jogees*, *Gosáens*, *Byrágees*, and all of that sort. The "*Koombh*," as the period is called, that is, of the sun entering Aquarius, being propitiated then this year, owing to the commonly believed recurring underground junction of the two rivers (to go back to the fable,) a vast mass of pilgrims is now collecting at Hurdwár to celebrate the occasion of the "*Koombh-ká-mêla*" or twelfth-year fair, the sign of *Aquarius* being designated *Koombh* or the *Water-pot*, by the

Cholera
Precau-
tions.

Hindoos. Owing to the massing of so many people, cholera has broken out among them, and precautions are adopted by the civil authorities of Delhi to prevent the pilgrims from returning by this way. The ferries across the Jumna have consequently been closed, and the railway authorities been asked to close also their third-class carriages.

Frequent
Holy
Days.

19th April, *Hamilton Hotel, Delhi*.—Good Friday. My office people have leave to-day. Others rejoice in holidays : I begrudge them—they occur so frequently. For not only do our mixed lot of office employees, expect to be indulged with leave, both on their own and on the great days observed by each other, *Christian, Mahomedan, and Hindoo*, but additional leave to perform *shrúal* or propitiation for the *manes* of deceased relations ; and on occasions of certain new moons, of eclipses of sun or moon, of appointed religious festivals, of a relative's marriage, or someone's illness or death, leave is also eagerly sought and often granted ; and this throws work into arrears. Taking the officially recognized holidays throughout the year allowed all round, I have made it a plan with my own establishment, to allow no more than *eleven* days for such occasions throughout the year for each set of employees, and that no leave will be granted as a matter of course, on the holidays of one another : for they also get our Sundays, and the usual half-holiday on the last Saturday of every month, as well as on our own appointed days.

To church in the morning. The monotonous, ever-swinging punkah makes one drowsy, let

a preacher be ever so energetic. Some attempt to produce "hot crossed buns" at the Hotel to-day.

20th April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—A kind letter from the Maharajah of Jeypore, sending me "your own portrait, one of myself, and another of Colonel Eden," as photographed by himself at the beginning of the year (*vide* p. 84, vol. i.,) adding: "I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you since you left Jeypore. Is it 'Out of sight, out of mind'?" He signs his name in English, *S. Ram Sing*—the letter *S* standing, I suppose, for *Shree*, a name of *Lukshmee*, the goddess of *luck*, and supposed to be an auspicious prefix to proper names. Written at the head of a native manuscript, as it usually is, and always used to be atop of our own official vernacular papers, it is an invocation of that deity.

21st April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—Easter Sunday. To church. There was a goodly attendance.

22nd April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—The first of the milestones leading out of Delhi along the grand trunk road, in the direction of *Kurnál*, was observed this morning to be smeared with a reddish colour. This has lately happened at *Meerut* and other places, and on the gateway pillars of European Residents—the work, I apprehend, of local *Bulmaashees* whose object is to create a sense of something being intended. I give it no other importance.² The Mutiny is too recent

² P.S.—It is an old way of desecrating slabs, posts, boundary pillars and such like, regarded to be held inviolate, to daub them

Native
Advice
how to
govern
Natives.

to be readily forgotten, or for any attempt to re-enact anything in that way so soon. Hereafter we may look for its recurrence. When the Russians are in full march upon our frontiers and the Affghans possibly have joined on to them, we may look out for interior convulsions. Meanwhile let us govern these discordant populations *strongly* and well, and subjection will continue till the *girdish owkát*, or "turn of the times," comes round. "It is our nature and temperament to *feel* that we are ruled,"—*tuhookkum boordun*, was the expression used—said an old Native Irregular Horse officer to me one night march lately. "Be just (he advised,) and as considerate as you may—but you must still be *zubber-dust*"—which perhaps meant a little more than *all-powerful* or *vigorous*. There is a leaven in the expression, of the oriental maxim, "Never mind how strong—but *strong*"—a little of kindness, but something of mind :—

"Tender-handed stroke a nettle,
And it stings you for your pains ;
Grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains ;
'Tis the same with common natures—
Use 'em kindly, they rebel ;
But, be rough as nutmeg-graters,
And the rogues obey you well."

We have had storm and rain off and on, and I have not felt at all so scorched to-day while seated at work in the very sunny verandah off my room at the Hotel.

with mes-y stuff. Oil mixed with *Sirdhoon*, a sort of ochre, is the smudge generally used when a worse defilement should not be adopted.

23rd April, Hamilton Hotel, *Delhi.—The *Ghâts* or ferries across the Jumna at Delhi, had been closed to prevent pilgrims from the Hurdwâr Fair from entering the city, and vast crowds of them thus cut off had collected on the opposite bank of the river. Through some misunderstanding the interdiction to cross over was removed at ten o'clock last night, and before the mistake could be rectified, quite 20,000 of the wayfarers had defiled and streamed through the principal street of the city. By four o'clock this morning, the chief crossing at the opposite end of the Railway Girder Bridge having been again closed, the continuous batches of pilgrims again gathered there in quick succession, were forced to seek passages higher up the river, and from there made to "move on" straight away.

Ferries
closed.

Major Coleridge writes from Bikaner, he had not yet sent me the promised copy of the wonderful ancient map of the world as conceived from Hindoo sacred writings, which had been shown to us when we visited the Jain Temple at Bikaner (*vide* p. 168 and 244, vol. i.,) some of the inscriptions upon it having yet to be completed by the Juttees employed to copy it—this done, he would also send with it the plan of the famous well there, also described. He is tracing the descent and origin of the *Rhátore* family as recounted in the manuscripts of the family "*Bhâts*" or Bards. There must, however, be some thousands of years of mythological genealogy in their narratives, the first positive date being but about a thousand years

Fail to
get a Copy
of the
Ancient
Map of
the World.

back. Coleridge does not place much faith on his King's "good talk." He even accounts it as so much "bosh": "As the sandstorms increase in duration and violence, so does the number of robberies and the difficulty of preventing them, and everything here is 'as usual.'" I suppose as little may be expected from his august brother-in-law, "His Highness" of Ulwur, he too having fallen short of his promises. But I wrote to the latter to-day, urging him to see more to the Meena dacoits infesting his territory. He had been away lately from his capital—perhaps to *Rājghur* for a wassail (*vide* p. 349, vol. i.)—but I must try to persuade him to help us, his Minister, *Roop Náráyun*, being so well disposed to do so. "You are now no doubt engaged in directing all your attention to the government of your important territories. I am sanguine of your continued co-operation with the efforts of the British Government to suppress those criminals. Indeed, when I lately passed through Ulwur Territory, I perceived that your Highness's officers had been duly impressed by yourself of your anxious desire very effectually to put down those very formidable robbers," (at any rate, *Roop Náráyun said so*.)

24th April, *Hamilton Hotel, Delhi*—A man of the 79th Highlanders died last night of cholera in the Fort close by, and several fatal cases have also occurred in the city—but as yet chiefly among the pilgrims who had managed to elude vigilance and pass over the fords. •

Plunder
of Govern-
ment
bullock
Trains.

A repetition is rumoured of attacks on the

Government bullock train, such as had before taken place now and again on the high road between Agra and Bombay, where it runs through native territory (Málwah.) One of these previous cases was lately described to me by an approver as follows :—“ We had left our places in Shajánpore (of Goorgam in the British district of Delhi,) and the villages thereabout, on an expedition in the direction of Gwálíor, and on arrival at Bhókur we were put up by a resident Sahoocar in our secret. One of our scouts brought us word that a couple of wagons then on the road from Indore, contained treasure for conveyance to Gwálíor. We pushed on to the Trunk road, and at a point of it between Saharungpore and Sháhjehánpore” (*not* Shájánpore near Goorgaon, where Meenas reside so plentifully, *vide* p. 327 *et seq.*, vol. i.,) “ we waylaid the convoy as it passed by at about eight o’clock that night, and plundered both wagons. Seven persons formed the escort, but they got terrified and ran away. Our booty was a sum of 30,000 rupees of Indore *sicca* (mint,) and with it we went straightway back to our homes. One of the escort got a sword-cut at our hands. We were not pursued, but got safely away, each one of us carrying a portion of the plunder. The following formed the gang.” (Here followed the names of forty-three dacoits, mostly *Meenas* residing in the British district of Shajánpore of Goorgam, Delhi.) This affair was, with another on the same high road last January,³

³ On a *sánja* or consignment of opium despatched from Indore upon carts for conveyance to Bombay, when alighted at the

authenticated like *all* the different cases from time to time mentioned generally are. It took place near the village of *Adkhāta* in Gwalior Territory. We are unable at present to trace the present rumoured affair, but have no doubt it was the deed of one of the gangs of whose *setting out* we had promulgated information (*vide* pp. 393, 435, and 448, vol. i.).

25th April, *Hamilton Hotel, Delhi*.—The Viceroy is expected here to-morrow on his way up from Calcutta to Simlah. The manager and hotel establishment very busy all day in furbishing up the place and in looking up turkeys and fat poultry.

The
License
Tax.

The new License Tax is becoming more and more the topic among the people of Delhi as the 1st May approaches, the date upon which it is to come in to operation. The measure is disliked. Mr. Rogers declares he will close his hotel from that date, he having already, he says, taken out a license as an hotel-keeper (*vide* p. 404, vol. i.) But with all this and my own objection to it, I yet consider it a master stroke of financial policy. Mr. Massey has limited his estimate of the consequent increase to the revenue, to the modest sum of *half a million*. I wonder if in his heart of hearts, he has not thought it might not bring in a couple of millions! For really, I think the tax capable of yielding much more even than two millions, if its collection should be placed under proper and more stringent

head of the Simrōle Pass, the first stage out from Indore, at midnight of the 8th January, 1867, the deed of a gang of Moghyas (*vide* pp. 168 and 385, vol. i.).

management. Not that I approve of the tax—for I quite agree with the native who a day back, said to me that it was merely word-splitting to declare that the License Tax *was not indeed an Income Tax!*

Then there is the other great *wáridát* or happening of the day and occasion of discussion, here not less than in commercial Calcutta and Bombay, namely the failure of the "Bank of Bombay." As a shareholder (a very small one,) I for one am dead against the proposed ingenious scheme of amalgamating it with the Bank of Bengal. Am I, I wonder, beyond the mark when I say that the Bombay Government *will not be allowed* to make the advance which has been recommended towards the reconstruction, by that stratagem, of the fallen concern; or much behind the scenes when I add that the renewal of its business *will also be forbidden?* The present manager of the Bank of Bengal, a very persuasive gentleman and of consummate address, is the *admirable Crichton* who has proposed the measure, and he is repairing to Bombay to *talk it over* with Bombay folk. The Government directors of the late bank are, I apprehend, chiefly to blame for the *fiasco*, and I fear Sir Bartle Frere, as Governor of that Presidency, will not escape censure.

26th April, *Hamilton Hotel, Delhi*.—A long morning walk. From the top of the ruined musjid on the Ridge I looked out for the arrival, across the Girder Bridge leading over the Jumna (it leads into Delhi right through that part of the Palace Fort called *Selimghur*,) of the express train conveying the Governor-General and suite. All Delhi had

turned out upon the railway platform within the city from an early hour, in the same expectation. But, the wheels of the state carriage frequently taking fire (as of *dák ghárees* also in such sultry weather,) the train due at 7.30, did not run in till 11 a.m.! Sir John Lawrence and the principal members of his Staff, Seymour Blaine of the number, left for Simlah after only two or three hours of rest at the Hamilton Hotel, travelling from this point in *dák ghárees* drawn by artillery horses. Some friends, come up by the same express, I saw similarly off from their hotel at a later hour. They informed me of the appointment of Mr. G. Campbell (Sir George,) from Judge of the High Court at Calcutta to be Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. I remember his saying, despondingly, that to have been relegated to the High Court was to be shelved, but he was wrong. 'Great and deserved praise has been accorded him for his able Report as President of the late Bengal Famine Committee, clothed too as the miserable subject was by him, in such beautiful language. He has attributed the blame of the famine gaining so much head, more to the system of administration than to any individual ministerial officers. *Mr. Massey*, author of the unpopular License Tax, has also passed on, and *Mr. Henry Summer Maine* (Sir Henry,) the Member for Law; the alarm of cholera naturally hastening the general stampede. Major Annesley and Captain Cunningham, both of the 11th Hussars, were the only lodgers left at the hotel by evening. Dined with the McNeiles at Ludlow Castle.

Report of
the Com-
mission
on the
Bengal
Famine.

Visitors
to Delhi.

28th April, *Hamilton Hotel, Sunday*.—After church drove Captain Cunningham to the old cantonment grave-yard, always a sight for a traveller to Delhi. The Jeffreys, of Demerara, who left some days ago, write from “Garden Reach” (Calcutta :) “We stayed three days at Agra, and did all the sights most successfully—the *Secundra* remains as well as the *Táj*—the latter more than once, by moonlight ^{The Taj.} as well as by daylight. We were never tired of gazing in wonder and rapture at the marvellous dream of a thing it is.”⁴—Moved at evening from the hotel to Mr. Wright’s nice place in the civilian lines outside of the Cashmere Gate, and dined there.

29th April, *Delhi*.—Slept deliciously last night at Mr. Wright’s comfortable abode, the punkah unceasingly playing over me throughout it.

The dacoities, with killing and wounding, of late down Hooghly, before adverted to (*v. p.450, vol. i.*), would seem from the inquiries, to have been the performances of a gang for some time at work in *Hooghly, Bâncoorah and Midnapore*—old ground, as

⁴ P.S.—The idea was a happy one which likened “this marvellous dream of a thing”—a well-conceived description of it—to a concretion of the tears (implied in the waters of the Jumna that flow beneath its walls,) shed at the death of the beautiful woman entombed there. The lines so describing it, are said to be inscribed within one of the small cupolas of the *Táj*, on the walls or sides of which many effusions of sorts (with the usual amount of *nomina stultorum*.) may be seen adhering :—

“In Death’s cold arms the fair Momtája slept,
And sighs o’er Jumna’s winding waters crept ;
Tears such as angels weep, with fragrance filled,
Around her grave in pearly drops distilled ;
There, fixed for ever, firm congealed they stand,
A fairy fabric, pride of India’s land.”

The
Dacoitie
Ball
Rolling.

In Bengal.

Recruit-
ing for
Dacoits.

In
Bombay.

Delhi
District
Meenas.

the records of my office in Sleeman's time show, for we used then to have an assistant down there, now some time withdrawn. But we now also hear of a body of dacoits in the upper end of *Bálásore*, in Bengal, who have been equally busy about there since February last, the perpetrators in some instances (in one so recently as the 9th instant,) being local villagers headed by professional dacoits from the neighbouring Tributary States. The robbers have become very bold, and there is no great difficulty, it seems, in persuading local parties to join them. One of these, versed in the *shástras* or sacred writings, wanting some tobacco, repeated some *shlôkes* or passages from them, to a man, a disguised dacoit, who had some: "Don't pay me for it," said the latter, "you are a Brahmin and I respect you." Going to him again in a day or two for more, he was supplied in like manner; and so, presently, the robber let the man into his secret, and by-and-by gained him over as an associate in a dacoitie in Hooghly. So much for Bengal—while down Bombay the *Khaikarees* (formerly put down there, *vide* p. 347, footnote p. 348, and p. 350, vol. i.; and *vide* Journals for 1849 to 1854,) have taken to dacoitie and gang burglary again, the local police officers concerned, admitting the withdrawal of our executive agency from that quarter, as the chief reason thereof. Then as to the *Meenas* up in these higher districts, with all the arrangements of the Punjab authorities to prevent it, they still have undisturbed abiding-places in Shajánpore, the British district before described (p. 327, vol. i.,)

and that, too, with scarcely any less immunity than when Sir John Lawrence was himself the magistrate for these parts.

Left Delhi at 5 p.m. to-day, in a two-horse “*dák gháree*,” carrying my belongings with me. Had intended to start later on, for it was very hot at that hour, but was advised to push on and not to stay either at *Kurnál* or at *Umballa* (the usual halting-places,) cholera having broken out at both. Seven miles out of Delhi we were obliged to pull up for about an hour, owing to a fierce hot wind and dust-storm—an “*andhee*,” or *a blinding*, as it is called by the natives. Leave Delhi.

An Andhee or Dust-Storm.

30th April.—*Kurnál* at half-past six this morning for half an hour, for a cup of tea. *Umballa* at about 1 p.m., where I stayed only long enough to have the wheels greased of another conveyance, that in which I had come thus far, being in a very shaky condition; we had constantly, too, to slake the wheels with water to prevent ignition, throughout the journey. Reached *Kalka*, at the foot of the hills, 157 miles from Delhi, at about five o'clock this evening, or in twenty-four hours from the time of starting from Delhi. Pulled up at Mother Bain's “*Brahminee Bull*” *Hotel*, so to describe a long set of ground-floor rooms, covered by a single verandah. But she has a knack of making travellers very comfortable. A hot bath and dinner, with a pint bottle of cooled claret mixed up with some sugar, mint, and soda-water, soon set me up, and now for the post that here awaited me. En route to the Hills.

Bruce writes about the gang intercepted in

Deoli (*vide* p. 435, vol. i.) It had recently committed a dacoitie near the cantonment of Deolee in Harowtie, upon five camels laden with opium, going from Kôtah to Boondée. The gang was under the leadership of *Sulla*, a Meena of Ulwur, a “general number” dacoit leader. He was one of those who escaped capture when the others were arrested. Those taken into custody have confessed to that particular dacoitie, but decline to give up the names of those of the gang who had escaped arrest (of whom *Sulla* was one,) and they swear to their innocence of previous acts of the crime. The approvers on their way to look at them, will soon clear up all about them. Bruce is very zealous on the subject. *Sulla* was with the gang that committed the great treasure dacoitie at *Sowndha in Khandesh*, before narrated (*vide* pp. 184, 185, 192 and 197, vol. i.)⁶

Proposed
Arrest of
Jeowun
Sing at
Indore.

The Nagpore Police are naturally very opposed to the arrest of their police inspector, the man *Jeowun Sing*, so frequently mentioned by me as in league with the dacoits raiding down in that direction (*vide* pp. 190, 191, etc., vol. i.), and remonstrate against the proposal of Major Thompson, my assistant at Indore, to take him into custody. The fellow is sure to come to grief, as are also *Chout-mull*, *Bhyrôn*, and other police employés similarly

⁶ P.S.—This man, *Sulla*, was subsequently taken up in Ulwur Territory. He confessed and narrated nine different acts of dacoitie, two being *upon the Government mail cart* while running to Bhurtpore. They included also the two cases mentioned in the text. The list of his accomplices numbered 126 men. He was, after trial and conviction, finally admitted as an approver.

leagued, and I think we may, for the present, let them be till that certain crisis happens.

Major Ranken, my assistant at Jubbulpore, in whose financial abilities and special perception in all such matters, I have always had great faith—for example, his foresight as to the consequences of the plethora of field officers sure to be occasioned by the late Staff Corps scheme, and his proposed remedy by offers to them of reasonable compensation for their early retirement (*vide* Journals for 1865 and 1866,)—I think correctly writes in regard to the Bank of Bombay (*vide* p. 17, vol. ii. :) “The old bank must now wind up. — did not show much foresight, and the Government directors of the bank, instead of checking speculation, would seem to have encouraged it.” In point of fact, the failure is the result of that disastrous speculation mania (the offspring of the great cotton bargains effected in Western India during the American War,) that recently raged in Bombay, and maddened sense out of everyone (*vide* p. 203, vol. i.)

*late
Bank of
Bombay.*

1st May; travelling up from Kalka to Simlah.—Up from Kalka to Simlah.
Was up at 2 a.m. and dressed to start, but from headache laid down again and slept till five o'clock, when I awoke quite refreshed and *well*. After a cup of tea, left good Mrs. Bain's place, and rode up the steep mountain-side to *Kussowlie*, accompanied by *Captain Noel Money*. He commanded the scaling ladder party in the storming of Delhi. The air cool and fresh; the scenery—wood, hill, dale and running rills—charming; such a change from the scorching plains left below, the morning ride was

delightful ! We did not stay at Kussowlie, but, passing down by the winding road leading under the substantial buildings of the Soldiers' Orphan Asylum, established at this healthy sanitarium by benevolent Sir Henry Lawrence, we rode on to the river at *Hurreepore*, crossing which by the Girder Bridge, we pushed on to the rest-house at *Kukkurhuttee* and had breakfast. At 1 p.m. we again mounted our horses and proceeded merrily with our journey ; for the change was so great, and the holiday—a pure one—most enjoyable. But the sun was powerful and the afternoon ride hot. At *Syrce* bungalow we stopped for half an hour to refresh ourselves with some cool *beer mug*, artistically *brewed* by my companion. Then, mounting our fourth and last post-horses, we ascended the hill to pine-scented Simlah, arriving there when the community—ladies numerous and gentlemen many—were moving about on horseback or in *jánpáns*, or afoot, here, there and everywhere, along the narrow ways of the mountain resort. There seemed to be joyousness in every countenance, as if all congratulated themselves on being up *here* and not down *there*. I am sure I did, and felt grateful. It was dark by the time I reached “Longwood,” our residence. Surprised the lad and his mother seated comfortably at dinner, for I had not told them of my leaving Delhi. The change was so sudden from the great heat below, that I quite shivered from the cold, and was glad to get abed under three blankets—at Delhi a thin sheet, and not always even that, being the usual covering at night, and

a punkah in movement over you throughout it!

2nd May, Simlah.—Indulged in the luxury of Personal.
lingering in bed for tea and the early pipe, and felt by the prolonged rest quite recovered from the fatigue of the journey and the long horseback ride. From Delhi to Simlah in forty-eight hours (ten of the number passed at Kalka,) was not so bad! Our house was in nice order, everything shipshape and comfortable, and Hugh in occupation of a room in our detached office cottage.

Arranged my study and prepared for the renewed fight with my work, now easier of accomplishment from the more enjoyable climate, and amid the pleasures of a numerous society. At evening met several acquaintances. Oh! the delights of one's home—and the peace of it!

3rd May, Simlah.—My office establishment and Personal
Matters.
records having yet to arrive, I have happily some days of leisure before me. Of personal matters there is a packet full—the marriage of a pretty cousin, the death of another in connection with a mystery, an impending mésalliance of a nephew, the wrath thereat of his father, the serious illness of an aged uncle—the *school bills of the children at home*—and lastly, the more cheering announcement of the nomination to the command of the Scinde Division of the Army, of George Malcolm, my fellow cadet at Addiscombe, and brother officer when we together served in the Scinde Irregular Horse, in the plains of Cutchee in Beloochistan. Brother Albert aspires to be Brigadier of the

Hydrabad Contingent, and his son to marry. Several visitors called during the day.

River
Dacoitie.

Meanwhile official items by post accumulate. To begin with :—Dacoits down in Bengal have become bold indeed. In a case committed a few days ago, some even attacked the assistant magistrate of the district while travelling on the highway—they plundered his bhanga load of clothes and journey requisites, and defiantly fired off a gun at him ! Then to notice other occurrences of striking interest or variety, we have an account of a *river dacoitie* a few nights ago, upon a cotton boat when moored for the night on the Jumna, at *Suckentpoor* (that, below Agra. The robbers first flung a shower of stones on to the boat in the dead of the night to terrify the *munjees* or boatmen, and then boarded the craft, and plundered some cotton and whatever else they could carry away, wounding four of the crew. Both river thugs and river dacoits abounded on the principal waterways down the entire river extent of the country, and our records contain many revolting narratives of their excesses, the one set of miscreants scarcely surpassing the other in acts of atrocity—but thugs, except occasionally as *poisoners*, have now left the rivers almost exclusively to their congeners, the dacoits.

Met Sir John Lawrence out at evening. I think it was Ben Jonson who said a cursory nod or salutation, merely showed, like a short letter to a distant acquaintance, a necessity for doing something without any inclination for doing much ;

but it was something to be noticed at all, and there was no *necessity* in the matter. It was a crumb of comfort, but—*tumet jecur*—so curt, so very *Cromwellian*—like Sir John up to the hilt!

4th May, Simlah.—There have been some cases of cholera even up here, through fear of which *Jánpúnces* and other hillmen in the employment of the European community, are beginning to run away.—Hugh listens to a Moonshee reading out some of my official communications in *Oordoo*, and tries to understand them!

Cholera at
Simlah.

We were out at noon making calls along the Jáko ridge.

A lady's bonnet figures in the most recent case of dacoitie. The mail cart was running a few nights ago along an elevated viaduct called "Tucker's Bund," a lonely narrow way three miles long, on the road to *Goruckpore*. The driver and a single passenger were the sole occupants of it. At midnight it was stopped by a band of robbers carrying *lúthees* or bludgeons. They beat the two men, deprived them of their clothes, and carried away all the mail-bags and mail-parcels. They threw away all the letters and such-like, and retained but a single package; that package contained a lady's bonnet—priceless to her—a white elephant perhaps to them—and which possibly may lead to their detection. The flaunt of a woman's gown as she turned the corner of a street, was, after prolonged failure, the successful clue to a great case of robbery in London not long ago—more likely here, a *Mem Sahib's bonnet*, if the

Bonnet
Case.

local police, with such able officers as *Mr. Berrill* as Superintendent, and *Captain Dennehy* as Deputy Inspector General, take care to work it out properly.

5th May, Simlah.—Sunday. The church was crowded with the new visitors of the season.

Great
Indian
Peninsula
Railway
completed

I hear from Ranken at Jubbulpore, of the completion of the junction there of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway with Allahabad: "The engine from Allahabad ran in direct this morning. The contractor of the line has a large breakfast party here on the occasion." The event is a great one, for now the railway is open the whole way from Bombay to Calcutta on one hand, and to Delhi on the other; and we may bid *adieu* to any more dāk travelling in those directions.

Colonel
Mere-
wether.

6th May, Simlah.—I have mentioned Malcolm's nomination to a Divisional Command (p. 25, vol. ii.) With equal pleasure I notice Merewether's appointment to be Commissioner of Scinde, for I may say I helped him to the first start that has finally led to it. My early friend, William Macdonald and I (he a son of the Archdeacon of Salisbury,) had been youths together at Bishops Cannings near Devizes. He and Serjeant Merewether, long time Clerk of the House of Commons, subsequently married two sisters, and when young Merewether, the latter's son by a previous marriage, came out to India, Macdonald, then become Rector of Calestone, near Calne, wrote to me to try to get him on if in my power. For this I presently had an opportunity when Merewether

soon after came up to Scinde with his regiment, the 21st Bombay Native Infantry. I was retiring just then from the Scinde Irregular Horse. Jacob (afterwards the well-known "General John Jacob,") had relieved me as Acting-Commandant of the Corps, and Malcolm, who was Adjutant, had succeeded me as second in command. I recommended Merewether to Jacob's notice, who replied he had made him his Adjutant! His father afterwards acknowledged to me, when I was at home in 1856, that he had always felt this to have been the stepping-stone to his son's subsequent good fortune, and he distinguished me with much attention in consequence of it. Jacob took a great liking to Merewether, and they became fast friends. Merewether was present with the Scinde Horse in the battle of "Hydrabad," and, with a short *ad interim* service in the southern Mahratta country with his substantive regiment, the 21st Native Infantry, in the field force commanded by my father-in-law, the late General Peter Delamotte, C.B. (*vide* Journal for 1844-45,) he, on rejoining the Horse, did excellent service soon after in inflicting a severe defeat, with 120 sabres only, upon a large body of Bhoogtie *lootoos* come down from the hills to raid, whom he cut up almost to a man. He obtained great praise for this opportune service. When the news of it reached home, the great Duke of Wellington, happening as he passed hurriedly through the Lobby of the House, to meet Serjeant Merewether, exclaimed to him as he went on: "I have read it all—excellent

—he will do very well—I congratulate you.” Merewether, after this exploit, served with a detachment of the Scinde Horse in the campaign in the Punjab of 1848-49 ; was at the siege and surrender of Mooltan, the battle of Gujerat, and in the pursuit and surrender of the Sikh army to Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert. On Malcolm leaving the corps he succeeded him as second in command, and served on the Upper Scinde frontier in the troublous period of 1857. John Jacob, his friend to the last, not only, on his death of fever at Jacobabad in 1858, made Merewether his sole heir, but even requested, I might say *bequeathed*, that he should be appointed to succeed himself in the command of the corps. This was promptly complied with by the Government of Bombay, and Merewether, next as the valued lieutenant of Sir Bartle Frere, then Commissioner of Scinde, helped not only in the settlement of the province after the Mutiny, but crushed an extensive rebellion projected by the *Belooch* and *Brahoo* tribes. For this he was made C.B. He subsequently (1864,) became Political Resident and Commandant at Aden, where he successfully conducted operations against the *Woudheli* tribes at *Bir-Saeed*, *Ahmôdra* and *Sûgra* ; and there he is now, awaiting to take up his new employment, except the impending complication with Abyssinia should delay it.⁶

⁶ P.S.—Colonel Sir William Merewether, K.C.S.I., as he afterwards became, though tardily, for his admitted important services in the Abyssinian Campaign, was later on called home from Scinde by Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, to be a member of his Council at the India Office. In that place he most

7th May, Simlah.—The necessity for the adoption of force of arms in Abyssinia seems imminent. The *Negus* appears resolved on holding Mr. Rassam, our representative, and his fellow prisoners in continued captivity, and has declined to release them.

War with
Abyssinia

A recent case of dacoitie comes up from Midnapore in Bengal, with the curious feature, observed also on one or two other similar occasions in the same direction, that the perpetrators "had their necks bound round with cloth." No doubt this was a disguise, in order to let it be supposed that they possibly were *Lingáyuts*, a people who are in the habit of wrapping their silver *lingum* boxes in linen when worn suspended to their necks, or, as often, bound round an arm above the elbow, and they will probably be discovered to have been professional dacoits. The robbery was on this occasion upon the high road, on a party of six *bhangy* bearers conveying treasure to Calcutta, from whom they obtained a booty of nearly 9000 rupees; hour ten o'clock at night; place, *Kalárghat* in Midnapore.⁷

Dacoitie
in
Midna-
pore on
Treasure
Carriers.

strongly opposed our withdrawal from Candahar, and wrote me a very characteristic letter on the subject; but without avail, for the unwise measure was carried out. He died shortly after from the effects of an accident, and lies buried in Brompton Cemetery.

⁷ This was one of the undiscovered cases made over to the special detective agency under Mr. Reilly (p. 450, vol. i.). The perpetrators were discovered to be indeed *Bindis* (a professional class,) personating *Lingáyuts*. Six of the gang were intercepted at the railway station at Dinapore, with 5000 rupees of the plunder in their possession. Thirteen *Bindis* in all were arrested, of whom six were convicted, two admitted as approvers, and the rest acquitted, "the corroborative evidence against them not being considered sufficient."

Personal. Our lad scarcely thought I was in earnest, nor do I think*he feels very grateful for my inveigling him into a visit to *Dr. O'Meara*, the famed Simlah dentist, who in a trice relieved him of an inward-grown *tusk* which had impeded his utterance—he, who had resisted every persuasion to that end, of his grandfather and grandmother, his uncles and his aunts !

8th May, Simlah.—A very cold day for this time of the year, with rain. We got a wetting as we were returning home from Hugh's first walk round Jáko Hill.

Jeewun Sing.

In regard to the man *Jeewun Sing*, Head Constable in the Nagpore Police, so frequently before mentioned (pp. 190, 191, vol. i.,) it seems (*vide* p. 22, vol. ii.) that he had been deputed on a kind of roving commission in Central India “to seize dacoits.” The man reckoned without his host in coming right up to Indore on such a profession, for Thompson, our assistant there, has, upon the information we possessed of his complicity with dacoits, and because he had not been previously apprised of the man coming to Indore itself, had him arrested, and of this — writes to me complaining ; my own impression, however, being that the man, armed with the commission to hunt up the offenders in the recent treasure dacoitie at *Burwai* in Nimár (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) had only come up to put some pressure upon them, in view to exacting his own share of the plunder.

Coleridge from Bikaner says that he had not yet got permission from the Maharajah to adver-

tise "*those copper mines*," as I had advised (*vide p.* ^{Copper Mines in Bikaner neglected} 180, vol. i.): "I am sorry to say that His Highness has thrown business to the winds, so much so that *Khurrcetas* (official communications,) from the head British Agency, of which there are five or six, of dates varying from two months to fifteen days, are lying unopened and unread, and in consequence everything is getting into as great a 'hobble' as *the License Tax*. The hot wind is beginning to make itself felt, and I look forward with pleasure to six weeks at Mount Aboo."

9th May, Simlah.—Gloomy weather—the mountain tops and glens shrouded with shifting mists, so thick and substantial-like, it seems one could cut them into slices with a sword.

Write to Thompson that he justly proposes that the deputation of such men as Jeewun Sing to the Native States should be previously communicated, and that I would request future attention to that requirement. I last year contemplated similarly to arrest the man Chotéláll (alias Choutmull,) who like Jeewun Sing, was known to us to be also in league with the dacoits raiding in the Deccan from up country (*vide pp.* 164 and 182, vol. i.) He had been enrolled into the Berár Police, as before noticed (*vide pp.* 182 and 191,) the same man who fell out with *Kishen Sing* and his brother *Hurree Sing* at Ajmere, in a dispute about his share of some proceeds in dacoitie which they had suppressed (*pp.* 182 and 191;) but on the remonstrance of the Chief of the Berár Police, I was asked by *Mr. Yule*, the Resident at Hyderabad, by whom Berár was admin- ^{Police Superintendent Jeewun Sing.} ^{Police Inspector Choutmull.}

istered, to forego the measure for the present. Beyond, however, the *to us* notorious fact, that Jeewun Sing was, like his *confrère* Choutmull, largely concerned in or rather cognizant of all the heavy treasure daçoities in Berâr and Khandeish, I do not think we have sufficient evidence as yet for his conviction, for which reason too, I forewent his arrest previous to his enlisting into the police. So that—however likely that the fellow had got himself sent up to Central India in order to claim from the perpetrators some share in the recent plunder in Nimâr, and to make, like *Choutmull*, similar exactions from his quondam companions under the threat of his having them seized—I say to Thompson, that, as the local police are now answerable for the man's conduct and our own evidence against him not yet sufficiently matured, “you had perhaps better release him and inform ——— that you have done so at my request, and beg that you may on future occasions, be informed of the man's mission into any part of the Central India States.” Men of such antecedents and proclivities, admitted into our police bodies without sufficient guarantee for their good conduct, such as we require from our approvers—for these are legally convicted criminals under perpetual custody, and are only held to be “pardoned” *on the condition* of their good behaviour—may certainly, if they are faithful, *for a time* warn off their former associates; but as *free agents*, that is, being under no such precautionary guarantees, they will do as little as they can *in bringing them to justice*, except they fall out with

them, as the man *Choutmull* did with the brothers *Kishen Sing* and *Hurree Sing* (pp. 182, 183, vol. i.) The danger indeed, is, that they will instigate their *quondam* companions in crime, to revert to its commission as opportunities may offer, and will keep their secret for them as long as they are well paid for it from the plunder acquired. On these occasions, that is, of fresh acts of crime by their confederates, they will for appearance sake, have some persons arrested, and, lumped among these, a few even of the *real perpetrators* also ; but they will, true to their secret engagements, take care to ensure the release of the true culprits or their eventual acquittal. Our information indeed is, that some instances of this kind of thing have already taken place—as to be expected should men be employed who are roundly suspected to be themselves criminal, and against whose action in police agency, some such adequate safeguards have not, perhaps, been adopted.

10th May, Simlah.—A dacoitio was perpetrated a few nights ago near *Sheorájpoor*, upon a camel dák carriage running with passengers on the Grand Trunk Road from *Futtehghur* to *Cawnpore*. The robbers suddenly sprang up from the road sides, stopped the camels, struck the driver off the box, and beat about the passengers, whom they deprived of their clothes and everything of value, and made off.⁸

⁸ P.S.—This robbery was admirably traced by *Mr. Horace Good*, the Police Superintendent of the Cawnpore district. The gang was composed of *Aheers*, *Bahélias*, etc., local robbers, of

11th May, Simlah.—The first instalment of office boxes arrived to-day. Khaikáree approvers have been occupied in bringing them up from the cart road terminus, which being somewhat distant they do not much like it. But it is not unaccustomed work to them, who thought it nothing to lift away loads in their plundering days.

12th May, Simlah, Sunday.—Much thunder and heavy rain during the night, and up to a late hour this morning.

13th May, Simlah.—The Rao Rajah of Ulwur sends me a very good photograph of himself.

James Blair, going home on short leave, hands over our Rajpootanah office to his namesake, Colonel C. Blair. These changes are frequent in the Political Agencies, and as affecting us, are inconvenient, Political Assistants being employed as Thuggee officers—*ex-officio* only as such,—but in the present instance, I acquire the assistance of an officer who has already had a good insight into the working of the department, he having lately been the *whip* in the conduct of several successful dacoit trials sent up to Eden's Court by James Blair, and he writes very pleasantly on his accession to the "interesting new duty."

14th May, Simlah.—Much rain and the weather quite cold and gloomy, as though the regular South-west Monsoon had set in.

whom he arrested twelve. Of these, two were admitted as Queen's evidence, three were transported for life, and the rest sentenced to limited imprisonment. The gang had committed several similar excesses.

A good deal of discussion has been going on, as to the financial results of the three Indian Staff Corps lately formed, and now some time in full career. By the Staff Corps rules the officers admitted into it are promoted, not by casualties, as of old, in the *cadres* of the regiments to which they belonged had they elected to remain in them, but according to their prospective length of service in the Staff Corps. Thus, a Staff Corps officer of eight years' service, is guaranteed promotion to the rank and pay of a Captain; of twenty years to Major; of twenty-six years to Lieut.-Colonel; and when he has completed twelve years of service in the latter grade, he is admitted to what are called "Colonel's Allowances"—a very liberal provision, amounting to about 1100*l.* per annum. There is no saving in this system; for in a few years the inevitable pension list will have become an enormous expenditure. It is felt that no inducements are held out to officers to retire earlier should any desire to forego these advantages; and that as, by the formation of the Staff Corps, they are excluded from the *bonus* many on retiring used to receive from their juniors in their respective substantive corps (for before, every officer permanently belonged to a regiment, and his promotion went on in it until he became a Field Officer; whereas he is now only *lent* to a regiment from the Staff Corps, that is to say, the several regiments of the Indian Army are "officered" from the Staff Corps,) and no adequate compensation substituted for the loss of that bonus, often a very handsome one,

Staff Corps Lieut.-Colonels will now be led to "stay on" till entitled to Colonel's Allowances; but that if the superseded retiring regulations of a previous period (1796,) were now conceded, many would gradually go long before arriving at that provision, and the prospective *savings* to Government would consequently be great.⁹ A great mistake has certainly been made in not holding out sufficient inducements to such earlier retirements, not only as touching a greatly increased pension list, but with regard also to the spectacle afforded of a great and ever-increasing number of Field Officers as the sure result of these new promotion rules! For even allowing a reasonable margin for casualties, the number of officers who *must* by the new rules, attain field rank within a given period—say, by 1873—would be out of all proportion to the requirements of the service and become the laughing-stock of all other armies. As it is, there are at the present moment, evolved from the working of the new rules, upwards of two hundred such officers in one alone of the three Staff Corps of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, *attached* to regiments doing "general duty"—that is, doing *nothing*!

The
Viceroy's
Levéé.

15th May, Simlah.—All Simlah astir on account of the Viceroy's Levée, unattended although, as it happens, with the usual gay appearance of officers in uniform numerously riding towards Peterhoff, down the winding hillside ways from all directions

⁹ The rules of 1796 provided, that an officer could retire on full pay after twenty-two years of actual service.

of the extensive mountain retreat. For the fag end of last night's great downpour, with thunder and lightning, persistently held on, and cloaks and overcoats were the order of the day; and, although permitted, as to that matter, to attend in undress, yet the medley spectacle of saturated "cocked hats and helmets with drooping plumes and wetted hackles, ill beseeemed the occasion. The levée did not have the appearance of being very well attended either, although it was pretty certain that every officer at Simla^h not in "sick quarters," was present at it. Sir William Mansfield, who has been ailing lately, was too unwell to come. I was told off to be among those who should stand "winging" the Viceroy in the reception hall during the presentations. Our lad, now lately become a "First Lieutenant," went through his turn of introduction very well.

Major Ranken, our assistant at Jubbulpore, who is keen on the subject, and is always clever at such calculations, had drawn up and provided me with a statement showing the different grades in the three Indian Staff Corps *for the six years ending in 1873*, including in it the promotions progressively to occur (computed without casualties of course,) in each year of the series. I took this with me to the levée, and at the end of the ceremony, presented it to the Viceroy with a short printed memorandum on my own part, and craved for it his Excellency's attention. The memorandum stated that the necessity for reducing the number of field officers in the Staff Corps of the three Presidencies,

Major Ranken's Paper on the Staff Corps.

I present it to the Viceroy,

was beginning to attract attention both at home and in this country, and that the adoption of some scheme for its *gradual* reduction, was worthy of consideration; that without some extra pension, field officers would not leave the service now, as their prospects *by waiting* were very good: that Lieutenant-Colonels of 1861 (the date of the formation of the Staff Corps,) would be entitled to their "Colonel's Allowances" in 1873, and that if the advocated scheme were adopted *now*, or *soon*, several of them would retire sooner; but that any delay would make it too late, as when *near* Colonel's Allowances, they would, of course, be inclined to stay on for those allowances. The statement was drawn up from the Army List, corrected to the 31st December last (1866,) but the number of Staff Corps officers has increased even since that recent date. I afterwards called upon the several members of Council and on the Commander-in-Chief on the same subject.

And to
the dif-
ferent
Members
of Council
and the
Com-
mander-
in-Chief,
and
others

16th May, *Simlah*.—Sent to-day a copy of the statement to Colonel Durand, the Military Member of Council, and to other councillors, financial, legislative and all, as well as to the Commander-in-Chief; and to Colonel Norman, the Military Secretary to Government, who, and Donald Stewart, are credited with being the originators of the Staff Corps scheme. The document shows that there will, in 1873, be as many as 921 Lieutenant-Colonels in the three Army Staff Corps, all who survive of whom, would, on reaching Colonel's Allowances, be, in 1884, in receipt of quite 1100*l.* per annum each; that, allowing 221

of the number meanwhile to die or to retire, which was to allow a large margin in those regards, there would still remain as many as 700 officers entitled to at least 1100*l.* a year : that this would amount to upwards of 700,000*l. per annum*, "*an enormous prospective liability, and at one coup nearly doubling the amount, including Colonel's Allowances, now paid by Government to the entire number of retired officers of the three Presidencies!*" The proposed remedy is, to pension off Staff Corps Field Officers, and gradually "get rid of them" by the offer annually of one hundred extra pensions, of 144*l.* to each Bvt.-Colonel, 135*l.* to Lieutenant-Colonels, and 108*l.* to Majors, in numbers proportionate to the strength of each of the three armies, (that is, of forty-five to Bengal, thirty-two to Madras, and twenty-three to Bombay,) the extra pensions being additional to the old-established pensions of their rank, of 456*l.* in the case of Bvt.-Colonels, of 365*l.* of Lieutenant-Colonels, and of 292*l.* of Majors ; officers of the last-mentioned rank to be admitted to the offer to retire, in the event of the allotted number of one hundred extra pensions, not being accepted by as many Lieutenant-Colonel's ; and that these pensions be granted, irrespective of the leave already taken by the several retiring officers, preference to candidates for retirement, being given in the order of seniority. Ranken shows that the Staff Corps pay of 100 Lieutenant-Colonels "amounts annually to 99,340*l.*," and that as the pension of their rank, 365*l. p. a.*, with the extra 135*l.* to be offered, or 500*l.* in all, to 100 Lieutenant-Colonels, would amount to 50,000*l. p. a.*,

there would, if all accepted the offer, be a clear saving of 49,340*l.*, or nearly five lakhs of rupees every year! Even if the offer of this boon were accepted, there would still remain upwards of 300 Lieutenant-Colonels and 500 Majors in the three Staff Corps in 1873, and the question pertinently put by me, is: "How may suitable *employment* be found for even that reduced number?" I note that in 1873, there will, *statu quo*, not only be as many as 921 Lieutenant-Colonels, but also 476 Majors, 790 Captains; and, on the other hand, *no more than seventeen subalterns in the three Staff Corps*, restricting the count to those only who were admitted to the Staff Corps on its first formation in each Presidency in 1861.¹

Later in the day the weather cleared up, and

¹ P.S.—At first repudiated, thrown out, not agreed to, ignored, and myself singled out from home and held up as the obnoxious originator of the scheme (which I was not, though by my well-known action in bringing it prominently to notice and in *agitating* the subject, I might be said to have *fathered* it,) the measure was nevertheless *eventually adopted*, and put into practice on even more favourable terms to individual officers; but only when "the enormous prospective liability," additionally occasioned by the certain admission of Lieutenant-Colonels of twelve years' standing to "Colonel's Allowances," (a concession extended under a spirit of unbounded liberality, most honourable to the promoter of it, and for which the whole Service was deeply indebted to the Secretary of State for India of the period, Lord Cranbourne, the present Lord Salisbury,) was at length realized as inevitable under any circumstances, and after too, it had already to some considerable extent been experienced and begun to be felt. It was implied, when the scheme was rejected, that it was the product of too easy an access to official documents, and such accessibility was, somewhat discourteously, animadverted upon and forbidden. No credit would seem to have been allowed to *intuition* in a matter so publicly patent, or to the knowledge of old that *two and two* made something, or that of the "rule of three"!

became most charming. The mall crowded—every one congratulating each other at having come up from the burning plains.

17th May.—A salute announced the arrival from Hyderabad of Sir George Yule, come to take up his place as a Member of Council (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) He rode straight up to “Longwood” to see me, and we had a long conversation, *de omnibus rebus*.

There is some inconsistency in Sir John's attitude towards Native Rulers—at variance, that is, with his declared policy of non-interference with their internal administration. Take, for instance, the enforcement within their territories of the decrees of our Civil Law Courts, and the late arbitrary “Resolution” compelling payment by them of compensation for all mail robberies within the limits of their several states, both touching them on very sensitive points. On the subject of the latter *ukase*, I have already noticed its effects (*vide* pp. 133, 248, 392, vol. i.) That the measure has created a very great temptation to rob the mails, there can be no doubt. I have it before me that as much nearly as three crores of rupees worth of jewellery and bullion (30,000,000*l.*) are estimated to be annually sent to Western India by post through Jeypore territory alone, the high road to Bombay through Rajpootanah. This includes, to be sure, the transmissions as well by the mails of the British Government as by means of the native *dák* or post maintained independently in Native States. Separate these remittances, however, and the vast

Sir John
Lawrence
and
Native
Rulers.

Value of
Precious
Things
sent by
the Mails.

majority of them would still represent despatches from British territory. Jewellery and gold bullion, gold leaf, pearls and precious stones, gold and silver lace, and the richest brocades, the finest and most costly fabrics, and shawls from Cashmere, are continually entrusted to the British Government Post for despatch (*vide* pp. 364, 392, vol. i.)—for despatch, too, despite the prohibition of the Post Office rules—to say nothing of the enormous remittances, of which I have mentioned several notable instances, of treasure sent on camel back and upon carts, for the purchase of cotton and opium in the regions where those commodities are grown. The knowledge of all this excites the cupidity of plunderers, added to the fact (but which, as has been seen, is of no moment to them either way,) that the so-called “escorts” accompanying so much wealth are always slender (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) Any way, they are insufficient for the purposes of protection. It is not therefore a matter for surprise that native chiefs should view with dissatisfaction and feel vexed by the promulgation of an ordinance that should hold them responsible when such costly articles are waylaid and plundered. For, as they justly aver, the ability, if not *license*, to send prohibited articles by the Government Post, and the knowledge that they are so continually sent, badly guarded too, offer temptations to rob the mail, for which they cannot with justice be held responsible by us, any more than the British Government held itself answerable on the not infrequent occasions of the Government mail being similarly robbed *in British territory!*

But not only that, for the introduction of the obnoxious measure has led rulers to be opposed to and to object to the proposal for the extension of British Post Offices within their own limits; and it has moreover passed, that mail robberies have increased in Native territory, rather than diminished, since the adoption of the new rule—a natural consequence—the knowledge that compensation for losses, or *tawáni* as it is termed, is demanded, having led the native public to resort more than ever before, to the British Postal Department for the export of their things of value.²

18th May.—Am flattered by a friendly visit to-day from Colonel Norman, Military Secretary to the Government of India, for I had not before been so distinguished. He is a very able man, but some of us are not one with him in regard to the after-effects resulting from his child—the Staff Corps (*vide* p. 40, vol. ii.)

It falls in somewhat with my remarks about the late Compensation Edict, (*vide* p. 43, vol. ii.,) that an influential paper should, at this date, observe of its operation, that it was “a roundabout and ineffective method” of doing what native chiefs would do of themselves if properly urged; that the arrangement would not render life and property much more secure than before; and that it acted as a premium on the neglect of more effective measures, as that feudatory chiefs preferred paying up the

The Press
on Com-
pensation
for Mail
Robberies

² P.S.—The above was subsequently brought by me into an official report on the subject. The enforced compensation was not, however, payable to any senders of articles contraband of the Post Office rules, but to be “collected into a fund.”

full value of the plundered mails, to the burthen of maintaining an efficient police. The same journal further describes the "compulsory exaction," to be in a manner, a species of "black-mail,"—paying for depredations was to the minds of native rulers, more economical than the expense of a police, the advantage of keeping up which was now ignored more than before; the "high-handed decree" was distasteful, as placing native chiefs "under the pressure of an invidious compulsion"—and further, they felt *insulted* at being regarded "to be cognizant of brigands" (not, I think, that all are not,) "who come from British territory as often as from their own."

Anecdote
of a Hill
Woman
married
to an
Officer.

19th May, Sunday.—In our walk round Jako this evening, we met "Annie, born of native parents," lolling in an approved English young lady manner, in a *Jánpán*, carried by costumed hill men, all *en règle*. This lady, sprung from a hill village, and of the fair complexion usual among hill women, was styled as above in the announcement of her marriage with ———, long time a colonist in these mountains. It is told of this event, that as the period of it drew nigh, the Chaplain of the Sanatorium took her in hand to instruct her in the principles of Christianity, preparatory to her anterior baptism, and used to narrate to her, in an easy way suitable to her understanding, some of the incidents of the Bible. On returning to and resuming one morning, the account of the Nativity, she stopped him: "No, no, do not tell me those tales, but tell me again about

the drowning of the *lushkur* in crossing the waters, and all that," alluding to the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea; that and kindred traditions of pomp and circumstance, conjuring her fanciful imagination more than, as she regarded them, drier information not so illustrated, or comprehensible.

20th May.—No more rain for the present, the weather most pleasant, and everything looking beautiful. Our Jánpánees, and hill men generally, may be seen gaily wearing bunches of the dark blue iris growing wild round about, and abounding white or red rhododendron flowers, in their caps and head-gear.—I imported to Simlah several sorts of roses last year from Jubbulpore (where I had introduced them from Belgaum, *vide* p. 250, vol. i.,) and all are now in bloom in our rosary here, delightful to the eye, the Persian or Bussora rose, of great perfume, both white and pink, particularly.

Among the *nuzzurámas* or offerings (lit. ceremonial presents,) to the Viceroy from ambassadors and envoys received here, was a stout *yaboo* or hill pony with *slit ears*, consequently called *chár-gooshee* or four-eared, an importation from *Khírgeez* where the breed abounds, presented by a distant hill chieftain. It was added, as was incumbent (*it was not so in olden days*,) to the "Toshuh-khánuh" or official depository of all such non-personally receivable presents; and being put up to auction at the office of the local Deputy Commissioner or magistrate, was purchased by myself. But the animal proved to be incorrigibly vicious, to the

Flower-
Bedecked
Jánpánees

My
Yaboo. *

terror, not only of those whom I should meet while riding him along the narrow hill ways, but of myself whom, by his ugly habit of shying, he had sometimes nearly precipitated, along with himself, down the awfully deep *khuds* or abysses of the hills, overhanging which the mountain straits and paths dangerously wind. But being a beautiful animal, with a long bushy tail and mane, and of a silky white colour dappled with red-brown spots, plum-pudding like, and not only very sturdy and enduring, but comfortable to ride from his easy ambling paces, I thought to have him *altered* as advised, and the operation was performed accordingly, earlier in the season, at the Horse Artillery veterinary stables at Umbalah, such being generally the effective remedy for vice. But on this occasion it has not proved successful as yet; for “Plum-pudding” this evening broke away from his syce or horsekeeper, and scampered away to the public danger. The poor syce was dragged some distance, and is badly hurt. I am perplexed what to do, for I do not want to get rid of so fine a little beast, too readily!

Môghya
Temerity.

21st May. — Regarding the *Môghyas*, whose plundering habits I before noticed (*vide* pp. 375, and 385, vol. i.) the Political Officer at Oodeypore reports another of their exploits in the direction of the same Nimbhair: before mentioned (p. 375, vol. i.) affording a further specimen of the temerity they have acquired from long neglect and impunity.

An Old
Retired
Bengal
General
Officer.

With our lad, to-day visited General — and his wife. Their grown-up sons and daughters

having never been at home, are almost to the manner, natives in their ways, and talk what is called "*chee-chee bú*"—a mixed sort of Hindustanicum-English jargon—for instance, "*Áth bujhá úná best hai*" (You had better come at 8 o'clock,) "*Oodhur don't go*" (Don't go there.) The good old General rose in my second brother's regiment, eventually to the command of it, and had been in India continuously since coming out as a young cadet. Thence we wound down the hillside to call on —. Something surely troubled the beautiful lady there, with all her grace of reception and charm of manner,—perhaps flying rumours—why mind them? they are ever over-coloured, as often untrue, however sometimes provoking. The lad went in and got wounded. He came out fired, and was ready to imitate the Indian champion casting away his scabbard, or the battle-breathing *Phailwán* burning to throw down the gauntlet to the whole world, *for her!* But, stay—

"Those who in quarrels interpose,
Must often wipe a bloody nose."

Or, as the Indian himself has it: "If you butt your head against a ram, you are safe to get a broken pate."

22nd May.—It certainly seems ludicrous to "license" soldiers to carry arms, yet such seems to be in effect, the operation of the new License Tax (*vide* p. 434, vol. i.) Then as to its results, the promises from its incidence—in the single instance of Lahore, a rich district, it will scarcely

realize 20,000 rupees in the year there, nor more than six lakhs of rupees in the entire province of the Punjab. But with all the diatribes against its action, levelled by the unreasoning and unreasonable rich Calcutta folk, the greatest objection to the impost is this, that it falls principally upon those who are comparatively *poor*. Of the 1400 or so licenses as yet issued under the Act in the above district, but a few over a thousand were to the lowest or sixth class of persons included in its scope; about 200 only to the class next in succession; and the rest, not a hundred, to the remaining four higher grades—a result that, perhaps, may be taken as a sample and an estimate of the product of the entire measure, to say nothing of the ill-will it is creative of. This seems awkward for my opinion as to its financial success! (*vide* p. 16, vol. ii.)

After closing office work, walked at evening round Jako with the two Swinley youths, both fine young fellows, one in the Irregular Cavalry and the other in the Royal Artillery. Their father is ill.

Thuggee
by means
of Poison.

23rd May.—Am a good deal occupied just now in preparing statements of the crime of Thuggee by means of poison throughout India during the past three years. They give much trouble, there being great difficulty in drawing them up with sufficient fulness, owing to the absence of details in most of the cases reported by district officers, and to a general hesitation on their part in determining the degree of heinousness attaching to each case; some correctly recognizing “Thuggee” in instances which were

*palpably the deed of experts, although death should not have taken place ; others only doing so where death had resulted ; some classing certain murders as cases of “ Thuggee,” without reference to the means resorted to in the perpetration thereof ; others who wholly pass by cases of poisoning whether followed by death or not, although they bore evidence of being the acts of class criminals ; some who restrict their notice to selected cases only of its occurrence, passing by other similar instances ; some who endeavour to distinguish between different degrees of poisoning, some calling “ murder by poison ” *Thuggee*, others not doing so : others who lump all such kindred offences under round numbers without any narration of the attendant circumstances, contented only with quoting against them the sections of the Penal Code under which they were triable or were tried, (among which quoted sections were those which recognized the criminal use of poisons,) yet leaving it to be gleaned to what particular instances of the collection they were applicable, etc. Thus the research for statistical purposes, is proportionately great.

Among the several cases so reported, I have come to one which I do not think I have noticed before, except officially at the time of its occurrence, which was nearly two years ago, and I would mention it here. I have said that our School of Industry at Jubbulpore, is intended to act as a kind of reformatory, in which the offspring, male and female, of our thug and dacoit approvers and prisoners, are

A Rail-
way Gen-
tleman
Poisoned.

instructed in various trades in view to their reclamation, and by their following which they may earn their livelihood (*vide* p. 250, vol. i.) But beyond the influence exercised through their parents in our custody, we have (wrongfully I think,) no power over this rising generation when they have grown up and elected to seek their living elsewhere. Several of them have, from time to time, done very well as far as we know or have been able to follow them in their subsequent careers. Many of these youths, of the thug classes, had found employment with European gentlemen as private servants, more particularly of late with the officials employed on the railway under construction on the line connecting (at Allahabad) the Great Indian Peninsula Railway with the main line running to and from Calcutta, a work which, as I have noticed, has lately been completed, though not yet in working order (*vide* p. 28, vol. ii.) Among these gentlemen was a *Mr.* Upham*, who was in charge of a portion of the line extending for some miles beyond Sleemanabad, which is near Jubbulpore, our depôt, and two such lads were in his service as *khidmutgárs* or table servants. He had ridden back one evening tired from inspecting his long beat, and was lying on his bed in his tent. The *kunnúts* or tent walls being triced up to admit the air, he was able to see under them, and presently, on chancing to look that way, he observed the two servants, who were engaged in cooking his dinner outside, squeezing into one of the cooking utensils on the fire, some green pods which he had seen them to pluck from a bush close by the spot; but supposing

the substance to be some kind of vegetable, he took no particular notice of the act except to be curious what they possibly could be. Accidentally, however, from fatigue, he was in no humour for food when his dinner was served, and merely took a little rice and milk. He may, too, have then been a little suspicious, for he afterwards put some of the cast-away pods into his pocket ; but the thought did not last, for next morning the two servants served him as usual with tea, etc., for his *chota-házirri*, or first breakfast—partaking of which he ordered his pony and then rode off to the tent of the railway doctor, two or three miles distant ; by the time of his reaching which he became faint and lost consciousness. Dr. Spicer at once perceived from the symptoms, that he was suffering from *datoora poisoning*, and was happily able promptly to apply the usual antidotes, and the patient quickly rallied. On his producing the pods which he had picked up on the previous evening, the two proceeded to the bush from which they had been plucked. The doctor at once pronounced them to be of the *datoora* plant (*Datoora stramonium*.) Thus further confirmed in his diagnosis of the case, the two servants were taken into custody, and along with them the unfortunate horse-keeper and the grass-cutter. How the two latter were believed to be implicated I am not aware, but they both were sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The head servant or cook, he who more particularly was seen to handle the pods, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment ; but his fellow *khidmutgar* was acquitted ! The intention was to rob their master

Thug-
born Lad,
on
Release,
becomes
a
Notorious
Thug
Leader.

while in a state of unconsciousness, and he narrowly indeed escaped with his life. It is significant that these two servants were the offspring of thug stranglers of the old stock, and the occasion shows the difficulty in reclaiming these people from their evil ways. Among many other examples of this, I would remember* that of the thug-born lad who was kept in prison along with his mother till he had grown up, and was then set at liberty. His father, his uncles, his brothers, all his male relations of several past generations, *were thugs*; and those of the immediate or present race of them, had been, more or less, *convicted of thuggee* in our operations, and been variously sentenced, some to be hanged and others to transportation or imprisonment for various periods, his father being of the number executed. This youth had never himself engaged in any act of thuggee—he was too young then yet, to do so—but he was *cognizant* of the deeds of his adult male relatives, and he plainly “belonged to,” *was a member of*, the formidable association. Hence his incarceration in view to his reformation as he should grow up. But not a bit—far from being reclaimed, he became, on his being at length enlarged, the jemadar or leader of a gang of thugs, as his father was before him, and was long, notorious as such, till at last he too was sought out and taken, and eventually, after conviction and a sentence to death, was admitted by the General Superintendent as an approver under conditional pardon. He thereupon assisted the Suppression Department against his numerous associates, many of whom were, through his assist-

ance, accordingly captured and brought to punishment. This was in the early part of our operations ; but in regard to the case just recited, of the narrow escape of the railway gentleman, I may also narrate in this place, if I have not already done so at the period of the occasion, that shortly prior to that occurrence, it happened that several poor children of the Byculla Charity School at Bombay, were discovered to be poisoned from eating some medicated sweetmeats that had been maliciously flung over the wall into their playground. I had long previously but ineffectually endeavoured, when I was the Thuggee officer for the Bombay circle, to persuade the Bombay Government to specially legislate against the possession and unrestricted sale everywhere of poisonous drugs.³ Aroused now, however, by the Byculla incident, to a sense of the danger of not doing so, the Government of Bombay *forthwith* passed a law restricting the sale of poisons ; and no sooner did I become aware of it, than I, who had now become General Superintendent of the entire operations for the suppression of the crime throughout India, went straight up to the Supreme Government with an earnest recommendation (frequently before submitted,) that a similar law be passed for the entire Peninsula,⁴ even going so far as to declare the possibility of the

Byculla
School
Children
Poisoned.

³ The curious on this subject I would refer to vol. i. New Series, of "Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government in the Police Branch of the Judicial Department, 1858," where my several reports on the subject to that Government are recorded.

⁴ P.S.—Vide letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 900, dated 13th September, 1865, in reference to which I here quote what I submitted of the subject, at a subsequent date. Speaking of the recommendation not

crime being practised upon ourselves. I was not then aware of the above case in the Central Provinces, of Mr. Upham, the railway superintendent. It had taken place only a few days previously, and it served my prediction very opportunely !⁵

being then yet attended to, I said : “ I believe an objection to such a law was urged in the fact that *datoora*, for instance, was often used by natives for medicinal purposes. If justice should be defeated by these detestable criminals making use on their part of the same argument in support of their *innocence*, it were weakness for us to urge it, too, if through it they should be saved from punishment ! It is the well-known character of the Thug to *make that null which would be evidence in our Courts of Law*—and for him to advance that in his defence which he knows *we are ourselves so tenacious about*—for him to declare that he kept poison by him *to use it as medicine* ” (this subterfuge was really adopted on a previous memorable occasion, on the part of a notorious ruffian, who was not only a thug poisoner but also a dacoit and murderer, as well on river as on land—*vide* p. 62 and footnote, vol. i. ;) “ because we say that it is used by natives for such a purpose, *and may therefore be possessed by them*, is altogether to sustain that character and to overreach us. As submitted, however, in my letter under advertisement, the inconvenience of a prohibitory law of the scope advocated by me, to those who really used drugs for curative purposes, would affect a very few in comparison with the very many whom the restriction would protect. They who required such things for honest aims, would suffer little from the mere trouble of having to seek permission to possess them ; while the effect upon those who wanted them for criminal ends, would at least be that they would, in some measure, be deterred from too readily using them lest they should be discovered *unlawfully* to have them.”

⁵ P.S.—Mr. Maine (Sir Henry Sumner,) who was the Legislative Member of the Governor-General’s Council at this period, hesitated to recommend the advocated law, on the ground that it was a “ delicate question to legislate upon.” Such was not the opinion of Mr. Hobhouse (Lord Hobhouse,) who, at a subsequent date, succeeded to the same high office. That equally able legislator, and I believe learned Sir James Stephen also, altogether supported my proposal. Pages 22 to 38, 38 to 74, and 76, 77 and 78 in the first part of the present Journal (vol. i.) show that the advisability of such an expedient still exists. Sir James Stephen was Legislative Member between Sir Henry Maine and Lord Hobhouse.

24th May.—We all know this day—and our native employés also well know that it is a *burra din* with us, or “great day”—for they have always a full holiday upon it. The Viceroy, as Chapter of the Order of the Star of India, held an investiture of the late two admissions to it, and I attended the ceremony at Peterhoff. The two new knights were Major-General Durand, the Military Member of Council, and Mr. Wm. Muir, the Foreign Secretary. All the members of the Order wore the special robes appertaining to it, and “Sir Henry Durand” and “Sir William Muir,” K.C.S.I., were invested accordingly. Sir John addressed them in a speech recounting the services on account of which they had been selected for the distinction. Aitchison, as Secretary of the Order, marshalled the ceremony. Sir John’s voice sounded weak and hollow. I do not think he can be well; and certainly both he and Sir Wm. Mansfield looked worn and haggard.

It being the Queen’s birthday, the Simlah European Volunteers, composed mostly of local shopkeepers and clerks, moved into camp down at Anandale, with their wives and belongings, to shoot for prizes, and for the frolic of the occasion. To where I, too, and nearly the whole community, went in the afternoon, but, as I missed my pony, I had to walk up the winding paths of the steep hill-side, and felt fatigued by the exertion on my return home, not very fit to dine afterwards as I did among other invited “heads of departments”

P.M.’s
Birthday
Banquet
at Peter-
hoff.

at Peterhoff, "to celebrate Her Majesty's birthday." It was a medal day, of course, and of full uniform. The table was well served, the wine good, and everyone was quite happy. Trotted back with Lumsden (Sir Peter,) I on my fine English horse, he, too, on a good mover; and we both together paced it pretty smartly, giving the go-by to all those returning from the banquet.

**A Lukkur-
Pakkur.** 25th May.—A neighbour's pet dog was carried away last night by a *Lukkur-pukkur*, a species of ounce infesting these hills and preying upon dogs and the like, but very timid as against human beings; they are great sneaks.

**Simlah
Tunnel.** 26th May, Sunday.—We strolled at evening through the tunnel (of no great length,) on the road to Maháseo; and wandered, too, over the crag through which it is excavated. A good deal of water was dripping through the arch.

**Report on
the Con-
flict of
laws
referring
to
Thuggee
Opera-
tions in
Native
States.** 27th May.—I was called upon for, and last year submitted to the Government of India, a full Report on the working of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department in Native States, discussing more especially the application of the British law to its procedure in territories not subject to the general laws of the Indian Councils. I carefully reviewed in it the history of our operations, showing "categorically and specifically" (the words of my instructions,) how and at what time each chief consented to the direct action of the British Government within his territories in respect to Thugs and Dacoits, and furnishing a complete compendium, which was what Government had

aimed at, of the law on the subject. Government thanked me cordially for this report, sent a copy of it to the Secretary of State for India,⁶ and circulated printed copies of it to all Governments and Administrations throughout India, and to every Political Resident at Native Courts. It has just been reviewed in very favourable terms by the "Times of India" in a leading article. The editor, quoting Sir William Sleeman, declared with him that "never in the history of crime and of its suppression had there been fewer acquittals as compared with convictions, or more security to the innocent in the pursuit of the guilty, than witnessed in the measures of the Government of India for the suppression of the great crime of Thuggee." He then goes on to give copious extracts from my Report, and to combat any idea of any undue interference on our part in the administration of Native States protected by treaty from interference in their internal affairs (the question of possible legal objections to our operations in which, had been distinctly raised by the Government of India itself in calling upon me for this Report,) distinguishes me with the remark that the subject had been "satisfactorily handled by Colonel Hervey," supporting this by quoting, as a "conclusive argument," the following passage from my Report:—"The only ground upon which any opposition might be based to the extension of the operations of the Thuggee and

⁶ P.S.—The India Office wrote back of it approvingly—that it was a most useful State document and all that. *

Dacoitie Department to Native States with greater scope than formerly, would be, I conceive, in a wilful misconstruction of the articles of the several treaties with Native Chiefs, wherein it was guaranteed that British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into their principalities, should any chiefs be so disposed to misapply that prohibition when considered in connection with their recognition of the *supremacy* of the British Government and with their agreement to act *in subordinate co-operation* with it. But it would be hard to maintain any reasonable opposition on such premises. The British Government does not assert any right to introduce its jurisdiction in their States *quoad* the civil and criminal management or control of them, but claim only a right as a paramount power to protect the *general community*, and to prevent professional robbers and murderers finding asylum in Native States and committing from there depredations in the States of others and of the British Government. If, in the absence of any *lex loci*, or of a law particularly applicable to such cases, and of a disposition on the part of the local Sovereigns to adopt any measures of the kind, it were left to the peaceable subjects of a country to redress their own wrongs and avenge their injuries, anarchy and disorder would be the inevitable result in every State throughout India; no general safety would be afforded; the subjects of every territory would equally suffer from the excesses of the persons who occasioned those wrongs; and every attempt towards good government, in which

the supreme power was deeply concerned, would be impossible."

The "Times of India" adds:—"There are other passages which we would gladly quote. Colonel Hervey may well be congratulated on having had the opportunity of which he has taken such excellent advantage, of placing on record the services of the department which he now so ably represents. The department has done good work. It has checked the commission of dreadful crimes, and it has done so in the face of formidable difficulties, which have been all overcome by the devotion and perseverance of the officers entrusted by the Government to carry out its humane objects. With truth does Colonel Hervey say that *'a blessing has been conferred upon millions of our native subjects, which is felt and acknowledged throughout the vast land to a degree of which any Government might be proud, showing, as it does, that it was not in vain that it was undertaken, and not in vain that the obligation to discharge it was appreciated and pursued.'* And we are persuaded that the remarkable success which has hitherto attended Colonel Hervey's efforts, will be met with also in the field to which the operations of his department are now to be confined." ⁷

⁷ P.S.—The Thuggee and Dacoitie Department, which before exercised jurisdiction throughout British India, had then recently, owing to the late introduction in British territory of a new police system, been required to restrict its *executive* action to Native States only,—but it had still to keep touch with British districts, and to maintain cognizance of the occurrence therein of all acts of professional and special crime, and of the criminal classes located

28th May.—James Blair, who lately left Aboo on a short furlough to England (*vide* p. 36, vol. ii.,) writes from Aden that Colonel Eden (Agent Governor-General for Rajpootanah,) who has not been very well, “talks of going home,” as had been advised, “but can’t make up his mind” like another Rajpootanah political of long standing, and that both are not wise in remaining. Coleridge writes from Aboo that Eden will go in the cold weather, and that the other has leave to the Cape of Good Hope.

Ball at
Peterhoff.

The weather was very sultry throughout the day, and towards evening we had a great dust-storm. This culminated at night (but fortunately, only after “all Simlah” had safely put in at Lady Lawrence’s ball at Peterhoff,) in a mighty storm with rain, thunder, and lightning. There was much waltzing of the bull-in-a-china-shop, or multiplied *deux temps* kind, but I was glad to see some dancers old-fashioned enough to resort to the too long discarded *one—two—three* waltz. Customs repeat themselves, and the latter would be a desirable return to a time-honoured one.

Transfer
to the
Depart-
ment of
Thug and
Dacoit
Prisoners
in Native
States.

29th May, Simlah.—It had long been our procedure, even in British territory, to obtain from time to time, the custody of prisoners confined in local jails, against whom we had charges of crime other than those they were there held in detention for. By these means we not only occasionally come upon “wanted” men, but obtain an acces-

in, or ranging in them, to keep up, indeed, a *general intelligence everywhere*.

sion sometimes of valuable approvers (*vide* p. 183, vol. i.) Thus in 1865 I obtained my first two Meena approvers from the Agra jail, and through them was enabled to commence our present, and now extensive, operations against the Meena tribe as professional dacoits. There had never been any objection to the practice, and it has, indeed, legal sanction. But — has, for some unknown reason, lately opposed it, possibly to favour the objection to it raised by the local Durbar which may dislike the trouble of providing escorts for such demanded prisoners; for our own departmental means are much too limited to take that duty. The knowledge, moreover, that we are able to trace them even to within remote prison walls, notwithstanding the names they there assumed and the castes they pretended to belong to, has a deterring effect upon criminals of the professional classes, such as those against whom our action is directed. I have already mentioned the result of the examination by myself of the prisoners in custody at Ajmere, Jeypore, and Ulwur (*vide* pp. 183 to 186, vol. i.) The latter two States are thickly packed with predatory Meenas, and I must ask the Agent Governor-General to overrule the objection that has been raised. The hitherto unchecked brigandage and spoliation carried on by this particular tribe in all directions, to say nothing of the harrying practised by the *Môghyas* lower down in Rajpootanah (*vide* pp. 165, 277, 288, 377, 379, 385, and 386 to 389, vol. i.) are an opprobrium to the several local

governments concerned, and an oppression to the inhabitants.

Pursuit of
Gujjádthur
Sing.

Daly writes from Gwalior that he has been able to further the mission of our Duffedar (Moona Sing) for the pursuit of Gujjádthur Sing, the leader of the Bedowreah band that slew our men in the Kerowlie and Dholepore forest (*vide* pp. 355 to 359, 361, 369, 382, vol. i.) The Dewan, or chief Minister of the State, would give our project full consideration. The Duffedar wanted the two captured members of the gang to be made over to him for the purposes of the research, and Scindiah, after demurring on the ground that he had spent money and time in their capture, and that one of them was scarcely less a villain than the ringleader himself, had at length acceded to do anything which might appear advisable, and the Duffedar had now gone to *Bhind*, where the outlaws had sought refuge, armed with orders for general assistance, the Soobah or Governor of that district, who was at Gwalior, having had matters explained to him in the presence of the Duffedar, who, added Daly, was a keen fellow, and would, he thought, succeed. But I do not like the employment of those two prisoners, and I have telegraphed to Daly not to have them handed over. They are a bad sort, and would escape, or manage to bring about their rescue, and this would give grounds for recrimination on Scindiah's part. Moona Sing is, moreover, himself a Bedowreah, and is accompanied by a very good approver of that tribe; and as the two captured men have now been in custody some time,

they can hardly be better informed than themselves of the refuge places of their leader Gujjádhur and his followers. I fear; moreover, the temptation afforded to these desperadoes by the presence again in their haunts of some more of our people, to have another slap at us in retaliation for our having had so many of their tribe transported for dacoitie in Oudh and the Doab. Such an exploit as the forcible rescue from our custody of their two quondam associates, specially deputed as our agents were to assist in unearthing themselves, would give additional *éclat* to the gang, and be disparaging to us.

Daly says of the great heat at Gwalior, that it is "heavier at night than day, and during the day life is only bearable behind a tattee."

Walk round Jako at evening with "Norman" and "Florence," the two lovely children of Macleod, successor of my friend Fred Curtis in the command of the 21st Hussars.

30th May.—Everyone is much concerned at the serious illness of General Swinley, at his residence, "Bally Hack," situated on the hill above the *khud* beyond our house.—I brought the doctor to see our lad, who is also ill and complains of great pain in his right side.

We have made two great hauls; one of a lot of Meenas intercepted by one of our command parties in an expedition of dacoitie, and caught *flagrante delicto* in Harowtie, where Bruce, lately one of our assistants, is now the Political Officer; and the other of a band of *Môghyas*, captured by the Tonk

Capture
of Meenas
and
Môghyas.

authorities in the mingled jurisdictions down by Nimbhaira before mentioned (p. 375, vol. i.) I now hope to be able, through the latter lot, to effect a beginning against the Môghyas infesting the region indicated. If the other Durbars, Meywar and Scindiah, could only, by this example on the part of smaller Tonk, be led to act with equal promptitude, and more particularly *Scindiah*, than whom the rulers of Tonk and Meywar are as naught, something might be effected in the desired object of suppression. At present the action taken, affects only the immediate vicinity of Nimbhaira, for all round that locality the tribe live and carry on their trade of robbery and rapine, like the *Shékáwuts*, with impunity. They are very formidable dacoits, of very atrocious habits, as may be judged from the examples I have given (*vide* pp. 375, 382, vol. i.)

Death of
General
Swinley.

31st May.—General Swinley is no more. His illness was Bright's disease.

Wrote to-day to Government recommending a pension to the widows of the five men who were murdered last December, by Gujjádhur Sing and his gang of Bédowreahs in the Dholepoor jungles—my action in which case I detailed. (Report to Foreign Office, No. 377, dated 31st May, 1867.)

Receive from Sir William Muir, the Foreign Secretary, the *Times* of India of the 24th instant, eulogizing and reviewing my Report of last year on the Conflict of Laws between British and Native States. I have already noticed the article (*vide* p. 59.) Other Indian Editors have been equally complimentary. From the terms of my instruc-

tions in calling upon me for it, an idea seemed to prevail that there was, or was likely to arise, some *conflict* in the respective laws, consequent upon the extended scope given to the special department in its future operations in Native States. But I think I satisfactorily showed, both by argument and quotations from law writers, that there was, in fact, no real "conflict," so to call it, at all, but that our procedure in the special duty would, on the contrary, be in harmony with that of the native rulers themselves. I stated that there was nothing, according to my apprehension, which was inconsistent in the state of the British Law in regard to the operations of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department in Native States, or to the apprehension, trial, and punishment of thugs and other professional criminals captured in them. It was a maxim of the Law of Nations that murderers and robbers by profession, who did not confine their depredations to any particular tract of country or to the territory of any particular ruler, should everywhere be delivered to the sovereign who reclaimed them, or in whose dominions they had committed crime; and as every country in the British Empire in India, was under the protection of the British Government, that Government had, by another fundamental maxim, the undoubted right to take upon itself the duty imposed upon it by the laws, as well of humanity as of nations, to require that such offenders should, through the local government, be pursued to their homes and be arrested and brought to trial, by any

No real
Conflict
in the
respective
Laws—
British
and
Native.

means not violently opposed to the customs or the prejudices of the country in which such measures were necessary. For the repression of an unusual class, recourse must be had to unusual means, if we would not wantonly subject the people committed to our charge to their atrocities, or render ourselves liable to the reproach that we did not restrain them. This principle was sufficiently enunciated in the despatches of the Government of India quoted by me. It was supported, too, by that which, I added, dictated to all civilized nations that an intervention was justified, not merely in the case when the safety or the essential interests of a State were affected by the internal condition of a neighbouring State, but also in the case where the rights of humanity were violated by the excesses of a cruel and a barbarous people living within the territory of a scarcely civilized Government: "Although the justice of each nation (observes *Cuttel*,) ought, in general, to be confined to the punishment of crimes committed in its own territories, we ought to except from this rule, those villains who, by the nature and habitual frequency of their crimes, violate all public security and declare themselves the enemies of the human race. Such persons may be exterminated wherever they are seized; for they attack and injure all nations, by trampling under foot the foundations of their common safety."

The above being, I submitted, the reasonable view of the question, it only remained to point to the state of the *Native Law* in respect to such pro-

ceedings. The Native Law, I said, contained no law, that I was aware of, to meet such exceptional cases. Neither the Hindoo nor the Mahomedan law, provided for robbers or assassins *by profession*. The criminal law of the country, moreover, was, by reason it was supposed of its original deformities, scarcely now referred to by native rulers in the administration of criminal justice. It had given place to a sort of *customary law*, or by *arbitrary will* (*Elphinstone*.) Whereas, on the other hand, the particular law of the British Government which affected the offenders, was *exceptional* (Acts XXX. of 1836 and XXIV. of 1843,)* its territorial scope was *general*, it was applicable to every part of India, and it was *declaratory*. By these considerations the law of both Governments, British and Native, were drawn, I affirmed, into close affinity with each other. It was *common law* that criminals should be regularly convicted by a trial in due form of law. This was a reason why offenders of the heinous classes referred to should be delivered up to the State where their crimes had been committed. They were pursued in foreign States by agents of the paramount power accredited to the Native Government (that is, by our Thuggee Police.) These agents were empowered by such States, by means of written mandates (*purwánahs*,) to pursue and to arrest the fugitives, and were accompanied for the purpose by the local officers thereof. The persons arrested were tried by courts which were assembled under the authority of the local chiefs, upon which persons appointed by them, sat and

* Re-placed by corresponding sections in the Indian Penal and Procedure Codes.

presided. • There was no *lex loci* in such special cases ; at best it was but *arbitrary*. The law resorted to was that which was as applicable to foreign as to British territory. It was *declaratory*—and, by reason of its speciality, it was also *arbitrary*. It was administered by a mixed court, composed of the representative of the British Government (the local Political Agent or the Agent Governor-General,) and of the native officials of the local State. The tribunal was a duly-constituted one ; and, lastly, the punishments awarded on conviction, were referred to and received the sanction of the local Government. There was harmony in all this. The arrangement was reasonable, and conflict of authority might not, I said, be anticipated. I was complimented, as I have said, by the Government of India for this exposition.

The
Funeral
of
General
Swinley.

1st June.—I attended General Swinley's funeral this morning. The Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and numerous other officers, civil and military, were also present. General officers were the pall-bearers. The deceased General's two fine sons walked close behind the bier, and the Dead March resounded solemnly as the procession slowly proceeded down the steep declivities of the distant burial-ground, but we missed the stately boom of the old big drum, now a discarded adjunct of a military band. The Simlah Volunteers furnished the firing party, of whom also a party carried the coffin when at last it had been brought to the entrance into the graveyard, Ján-pánces having conveyed it so far. The Cemetery

The
Simlah
Cemetery.

is prettily situated on a romantic knoll covered with fir trees, some way down the Simlah mountain decline, and is approached by a narrow and tortuous pathway, scarcely broad enough for a couple of horsemen abreast. At present it is enclosed simply by a mud wall. Many lie buried there. The last time I was present on a similar occasion, was at the interment there of young Sir Alexander Lawrence, son of Sir John's illustrious brother, Sir Henry, and that was a great occasion : for we all sorrowed at the young man's untimely and awful end, and Sir John's grief was visibly poignant. He was killed, as was his pony, by falling down a *khud* in the vicinity of Simlah (*vide* Journal for August 1864.)

Later in the day I presided at a meeting of local householders—and subsequently attended a meeting of the members of the Simlah Club. The Club House is situated at the foot of the Jáko mountain, on an eminence over above the centre of the mall, and commands a fine view of wooded hill scenery, and of the distant plains, and the windings there of the Sutlege.

2nd June.—Hear of another cotton boat robbery on the Jumna, a few nights ago, on the reach of the river between Agra and Ghazepoor. The boat had moored for the night and its crew had gone to sleep, when, suddenly, at midnight, they were assailed with a shower of stones and then immediately were boarded and the boat plundered, and this recurrence of the crime too, in one and the same neighbourhood (*vide* p. 26,) despite the

The
Simlah
Club
House.

Cotton
Boat
Plun-
dered.

supposed* vigilance of a special river police!^s These river robberies are conducted much in the same manner there as on the stream lower down. The plunderers contrive to learn of the despatch of a freight of goods, they follow the boat from mooring-place to mooring-place, sometimes afoot, sometimes in a boat; and when the opportunity is favourable, the spot desolate, and the night well on, they suddenly board the craft, beat and knock about those of the crew who have not jumped to the shore or concealed themselves, plunder what they can lay hands on, and rapidly escape, travelling during the rest of the night, and thus leaving miles behind them before the morning, at which hour only the local police become aware of the occurrence. But I cannot understand how then, in the present case, "*bales of cotton*" should have been carried off, or any receiver ready to hand to take them over!—The boy abed two days, put in an appearance at breakfast to-day, looking much pulled down.

Personal.

A Double
Ducotio.

3rd June.—Among the reports received this morning, was one of a *double robbery* three nights ago, down in *Goruckpore*, where gang robberies have been frequent of late. An armed gang, carrying lighted torches, at midnight burst into a house and plundered it, seriously wounding a couple of men who were in their way as they left. They proceeded next to a second house hard by,

* P.S.—It was afterwards thought that this and the previous boat robbery (*vide* p. 26,) were procured by the boatmen. There was no detection in the previous case, and in the present instance, the only two persons arrested for it were convicted of it, and sentenced, but they were *not*, I believe, boatmen.

and attacked and plundered it also in the same manner. The district is infested by *Bhurs* and *Dômes*, both criminal classes, of whom the former have as bad a reputation there as the Meenas elsewhere sustain. They are locally regarded to resemble the Brinjarees, although residing in villages and not being carriers as the latter are. *Rájblour* is their more popular appellation, and they claim to be sprung from the aboriginal settlers of that part of the country—a wild race. The *Dômes* again, I have considered to resemble the Khaikarees Khaikarees Rechabites and the Dômes. *alias* Korwurs, who raid in Bombay and Madras territories, Berar and the Nizam's districts, in habits as in ostensible occupation (*vide* pp. 347, footnote 348, 350 vol. i., and p. 20, vol. ii.,) except that the Khaikaree surprisingly abjures tobacco as religiously as the Rechabite of old forswore wine, the only reason given being, "it is not our caste habit." I have long observed these slighted *Dômes*. They also are descended from some stock of first settlers, and I have not formed so low an estimate of their intelligence as has usually been received of them. They are good for scouting purposes.

4th June.—Am occupied in translating depositions for my periodical report. Here is one of the sworn informations against the two police employés and their associate *Motee Sing* Meena, whose knavish ways down country, and connivance with dacoits from Upper India, have before been noticed (pp. 22, 32, vol. ii., *et ante* :) "Jeewun Sing Police Employés. Jeewun Sing. is a Rajpoot Thakoor. He formerly resided in Bikaner, but for the last twenty years he has

lived at Oomraotee (in Berar,) employed by the local *Sêth*s or native bankers and merchants, as a carrier. He keeps ten or twelve camels for the purpose, and is locally known as the ‘*Sêth’s Jemadar.*’ When Meenas come down from their Dês or country on expeditions of dacoitie, they are put up by him and he advises them where to rob under a promise well understood, of receiving a share in their plunder, sometimes a *fourth*, at others a *fifth*; or when the booty shall be small, a *tenth*. He abets them and sets them on to commit dacoitie. He does not himself join in the dacoitie, but attaches to the gang some of his own people for the purpose; for he keeps some twelve of such persons of sorts by him. In Nagpore he is employed by the *Sêth* Abeerchund, and he has similar employers at Jálnah and Oomráotee. One year he will be at Oomráotee, another at Nagpoor, the third at Jálnah. He sends his camels with their goods, to Bombay, to Indore, to Boorhanpore, to Jeypore, to Jodhpore, to Jubbulpore, and other places, acting indeed as a general carrier of goods and specie to different parts of the country, and it is under that cloak that he procures dacoities. He will not have his own direct employers plundered, but only the property of others; and it is under this guise of being true to the former, that he promotes the plunder of the others. It was upon information thus acquired from him, that I committed with my gang the dacoitie at *Dhygam* (booty 7927 rupees, *vide* p. 76, vol. ii.,) and plundered the horse *dák* near Jálnah (booty, two mail wallets containing

gold leaf etc., and a quantity of *cheroots*.) In both these affairs Jeewun Sing received his stipulated share. Dacoits constantly resort to him and he gives them information of the despatch of convoys, or of houses they might plunder. (Here followed his personal description.) I also know *Motee Sing*. Motee Sing. He is a Meena Jemadar of the 'Kákoos' clan, formerly residing at Nágul in Jeypore, but latterly at Oomráotee in the employment of native merchants. He and Jeewun Sing live together. They go share and share in everything, and even have their food prepared in the same place. He too, is in the habit of giving dacoits information where to plunder, on their agreement to give him a share in the proceeds. Both he and Jeewun Sing are men of substance, and their ostensible employment is as camel carriers. Both are held in estimation among local native merchants. Motee Sing has a pleasing address, as if he were an *Amcer* or a gentleman. Although a Meena, down in Berar he passes for a 'Thakoor of Shekawátie' (*vide* pp. 164, 190, 191, vol. i.) Both he and Jeewun Sing were arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the treasure dacoitie at Ootrádapet (*vide* pp. 182, 186, vol. i.) . . . I also know *Chowtia* or *Choutmull* (*vide* pp. 182, 190, vol. i). Choutmull. He is a Brahmin, and he is not only in the service of the local government but is employed by Mahájuns also. He is secretly in association with both Jeewun Sing and Motee Sing; and in robberies committed upon information imparted by himself, he like them also receives a share in the booty. These three men are well known among us, and

their connection with us is patent to us all. They are locally thought well of for respectability, so that when parties of ten to twenty, two or four, five or seven of us Meenas, go down to Oomráotee to commit dacoitie, we go to them. Outside of Oomráotee are two *mundhirs* or temples, one called *Ballujee's* and the other *Devee's*. Under cover of their good repute, these three men put us up there, no Government Chupprásee (belted magisterial attendant,) or other person interfering, because of their respectability. For they give out that the strangers have come down from their own country in search of service, and that it was their intention to find employment for them with some of the local Sêths whom they knew to require some fresh hands, averring that they would themselves be answerable for their good faith in the matter."

Dhygam
Dacoitie.

I here add the record of the Dhygam case alluded to in the above information (p. 74,) as translated by me : "Twenty of us (names and villages etc. given,) proceeded from our homes in Rajpootanah to Oomráotee in Berar, and there went to Jeewun Sing Thakoor, where we met fifteen men of another gang. They had alighted at the house of one *Jhánjoo Lál*, a local Sêth. This man along with Jeewun Sing advised the assembled lot of us to stay there awhile, as no doubt 'something would turn up.' In this interval we learnt of two camels laden with treasure setting out for Khamgám. I followed with my quota to plunder them; but when we had got to a village about nine koss distant, the camel men observed and suspected us.

They lodged information of us at the village *Thannah* or station as they passed on, and we were thereupon taken into custody and sent back to Oomraotee, where we were questioned by the Tuh-sildar why we had followed the convoy. We declared that we were not following the camels, but only happened to be returning homewards the same way, 'having failed to obtain employment.' We were thereupon shortly released, but we continued to stay on at Oomráotee. Then soon a man of the goldsmith caste informed Jeewun Sing that his master, a Sêth residing at Dhygám, had quite 50,000 rupees of wealth stowed away in his house, and if we were sent with him he would show us all about it. We decided to accompany him, and the united lot of us started accordingly, reaching Dhygám an hour after dark. We went straight up to the indicated house, broke open the shop door, and leaving some of our men to cover it by a fire from matchlocks, the rest of us entered the premises. The inmates at once cleared out. Then lighting a torch, we dug about in the loft where our spy had told us the treasure was hidden. We found nothing there, but on our breaking into a closed niche or recess in a wall, we discovered in it what we were in search of. Put away in it we discovered a heavy gold waist-belt, a valuable gold bead *kuntha* or necklacc, two or three smaller kunthas, eighty gold Venetians (sequins,) and two earthen vessels in which a quantity of silver ornaments were concealed, also 1200 rupees in cash. The ornaments weighed quite a maund. The

whole booty, as valued by ourselves, amounted to about six thousand rupees, and with this we at once made off. We travelled all that night until we had reached some hills some eight or nine koss distant. Proceeding onwards we got to Ellichapoor on the third day, and there alighted in the local *Dhurmsála* (travellers' inn.) Some of the gang stayed there for a couple of days longer, others doubled round to Oomráottee, but I and my men pushed on to Indore. We were not opposed in this robbery, but as we had fired off some shots to keep intruders off, no doubt some of the village people were hit, but no one of our side was hurt. Jeewun Sing, from being constantly in the habit of escorting goods, was easily able to supply us with the matchlocks." Memo.—Two persons on the side of the village, received gun-shot wounds in this authenticated affair.)

Dacoitie
in Mid-
napore.

5th June.—We have another case from Midnapore. Dacoitie is a good deal rife in that district, and it is a pity there is no longer a Dacoitie Commissioner in those parts. What was effected in the previous case there, has been mentioned (*vide* p. 31, vol. ii.) The district is a jungly one, and robbers find asylum in it, favoured also by local landholders and small chiefs. The present case is regarded to be the deed, one of several in this and neighbouring districts, of an outlawed leader. The property plundered was insignificant it seems.⁹

⁹ P.S.—The proclaimed robber leader alluded to, whose name was *Koos'la*, would post himself in the jungle, and from there infest the adjacent districts, levying blackmail to such an extent that

6th June.—While receiving reports *now and again* of the occurrence of special crime from other provinces, I get nothing in that way from *Madras*. Not that nothing of the kind occurs in that direction, but from studied reserve, the scope of my office being there, it would seem, regarded as one of interference, rather than as of a *general superintendence* or watchfulness by means of which to enable other Governments and the public generally, to judge of the comparative condition of crime and the results of local police action in keeping it down, in the different police areas of the country. It was in that view, and with that broader conception of the requirement, that when charged with supervising that duty I was constituted the “consultative officer of the Government of India on police subjects.” This conveyed to me no power of interference with local police administration, my only part being “to keep touch,” as I have said (*vide* footnote, p. 61, vol. ii.) with British districts in respect to the occurrence in any of them of class crime, such as the special department over which I preside had been and was engaged in acting against. Perhaps the idea is, that the duty prefaces the introduction of a *central police bureau*. I wish it did. I should, if

the villagers feared to give information against him. He was at length, towards the end of this year, ably followed and pounced upon one midnight, in the heart of a jungle, by a party of police led by its energetic Superintendent, Mr. Pughe, a son of the Inspector-General of Police himself. The man himself, however, escaped arrest, but, later on, he was captured by a police force specially appointed to the duty, and was eventually transported for life. This served to break up the gang.

appointed to such a charge, have much to advocate in support of such a measure—not, however, on the footing of the lately abolished office of “Director-General of Police.” That was an experiment in the direction of a general centralization, which had of late become a mania at the head centre of Government, and the great mistake in its adoption, was, in not confining the range of the office to general principles and the general supervision above defined, which was the original intention in creating it, but extending to it the inspection, *quoad* an “Inspector-General,” of police administration, and the direction, too, of its financial arrangements. This was intolerable to local Governments, and especially so to the several Police Inspectors-General thereof, who were supposed to possess, as by the new Police Act was indeed designed for them, an *independent* department or organization of their own. And, unquestionably, the measure (Director-General,) as inaugurating a covert central scrutiny and central control, was a very distasteful one, and was naturally regarded to engender a feeling of distrust and uncertainty on the part of local Governments, who, by the new Police Act, were supposed to be empowered with the entire uncontrolled management of their several police forces. Of this tendency an example was soon afforded in Bombay. Colonel Bruce, the new Director-General, was deputed to Bombay on an avowed mission to cut down the police expenses there—on a “snipping errand,” as it was locally designated—at the in-

Colonel
Bruce.

stance of the not very popular Member of Council for Finance. This was stoutly resisted by Sir Bartle Frere the local Governor, and his Council, and I know it was currently said, in consequence, that the Bombay Government was regarded to be *on the verge of insubordination*—for that this was not the only one of its resistances to the edicts of the supreme Government. This cutting down of establishments had also been aimed at our own special police agency, and but for the manful stand of *Mr. Court*, the ablest of the Inspectors-General of the period, and for an article which I had contributed to the “*Calcutta Review*,” we should probably have been annihilated. That gentleman had long experience of our value as an auxiliary element in police action, and in his place of President of the Police Commission then assembled to devise rules of conduct for the new police force (by the creation of the new Police Act,) he forcibly maintained, in opposition to Colonel Bruce and Messrs. R. and T. (the two other members of the assembled Commission,) that the ordinary police were unable to cope with organized crime carried out by persons living at a distance from their homes, such as those against whom the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department was specially employed. This resulted in our executive agency being, by way of a tentative compromise, limited, with extended scope, to Native States, but with continued *general superintendence*, on my part, as chief of that special department, *throughout British territory* in respect to the occurrence

Sir Bartle
Frere.

Mr. Court,
Inspector-
General
of Police
for the
North-
Western
Provinces

therein of crime of a "professional" nature (*vide* footnote, p. 61, vol. ii.)

A Police
Bureau.

My plan for the introduction of a "police bureau," would not be upon the principle above developed. It would avoid interference with, or that *espionage* which was so much dreaded in the previous experiment, into the internal concerns of the several local police bodies. But it would, on the other hand, provide for *command* on all special or extraordinary occasions, and for the maintenance of the prestige of the Supreme Government as the directing power in all exigencies affecting the public welfare. The high officer holding the police portfolio which I contemplate, would by his office be the reflex of the efficiency of the whole body of the constituted guardians of a community so diversified as are the people of India. Police action would not centre in him, but from him would emanate police action in all special cases, the perpetration of which, or the persons leagued for the purposes of which, and the possible expansion of whose association, were not confined to one police area, but were widespread. I would have, in short, that important functionary to be the Secretary to the Government of India for all police matters, not only in proceedings against Thugs and Dacoits, which should still be his special duty, but against such other special criminals as should require coercive measures and combined action in regions not comprehended in the territorial scope of any particular Government or Administration, but presenting ramifications in

various directions. He would, in fact, become the centre of a general *Intelligence Department*, and in that capacity he would receive and lay before the Viceroy the intelligence kept up by him accordingly, in his special capacity of General Superintendent within the different police areas for which the several local Governments were responsible; and as Minister or *Prefect of Police*, he would be the mouthpiece of the Imperial Government, holding the police portfolio of the entire country on the same principle that now, in a minor way, obtains in the Province of Oudh under the able administration of Mr. John Strachey (Sir John;) and he would, moreover, restore to the Supreme Government that authority and general control over the police which was contemplated by and comprehended within the provisions of the new Police Act, but which, owing to the antagonism referred to, it now lacks. For in point of fact, the Inspector-General of Police, as at present constituted, of any of the police areas, is, as was pointed out by Mr. Strachey, in a very nondescript position. Although charged with the general control, and with the organization of the quasi-military duties of the local police force and its interior economy, he has very little to do with the arrangements for the preservation of the public peace and security, or the prevention, detection, and prosecution of crime. The several Police Superintendents are subordinate to Magistrates of districts in those particulars, and the latter are in their turn amenable to Commissioners

*Generally regarded to be the recipient of a good deal of information of the nature here adverted to, I was, shortly afterwards, specially additionally employed in this capacity accordingly, in direct communication with the Viceroy himself through his Private Secretary.

of Divisions, each division comprising several magistracies—except in regard to the particular professional crimes against which magisterial officers do not, as I have said, possess like us, the means of combined action. Yet, notwithstanding all this irregularity, all reports and returns as to police administration, for which Commissioners and Magistrates are chiefly answerable, reach the local Government “through this irresponsible Inspector-General,” and through him, too, the orders of Government are conveyed—and yet all the while the Inspector-General is unable *per se* or *suo motu*, to exercise any supervision over Magistrates, any more than that Commissioners can look upon Inspectors-General as their superior officers! The General Superintendent would also, according to my plan, as the centre of the Intelligence Department, be constituted the chief of a secret and political police.*

Personal. *7th June, Simlah.*—We were again at a concert given by *Madame Bishop*—and I went also with the lad to a race ordinary, held at our club. For the races at Anandale are at hand, and he is bent on a mount in them. I drew “Sam Slick” in the lottery—a favourite horse.

8th June.—The anniversary of my landing at Bombay as a cadet from Addiscombe in 1836!

The
Simlah
Races.

The first of the races took place this afternoon at Anandale, where all Simlah collected to view them. I look on sedately, comfortably seated at a good look-out point, smoking my pipe. *Sam*

Slick fails miserably. The Simlah race-course is perhaps the most remarkable in the world. It is situated low down below the Simlah mountain, and compasses a charming little dell romantically surrounded by fir-clad hills. A portion of it runs by a precipitous wooded gorge dangerously near its edge, into which, if a horse ran off the course, the rider would be safe to be plunged and perhaps to break his neck. The contracted space is the only available level piece of ground in the vicinity, and here all meetings are held, of archery, football, cricket, and other sports, and bazaars; and it sometimes forms the encamping ground of the Simlah Volunteers. A small Chinese shaped temple, placed among some very lofty cedars in one of the recesses of the spot, where sacrificial goats and buffaloes are on occasions slaughtered, is an object of interest, situated as it is in the deep solitude and woody nook in which Hindoos love to erect their places of worship, and where, as at this spot, the simple-minded hillmen believe that they propitiate by those sacrifices, and by offerings of boiled rice and sweetmeats, the *jinnus* or *elfs* and brownies, who they declare disport in these woods at night, to behold whom by any chance thus frolicking or dancing is attended, they believe, with certain personal calamity. For this dread reason, hill people will never wander out at night in these mountains, nor will a baggage cooly be persuaded to descend the hill till after the day shall have dawned.

Race-
course
described.

Elfs or
Elfins.

The
Church at
Simlah.

9th June, Sunday.—The Simlah church is situated on a restricted plateau cut out from the side of the hill overlooking the bazaar or native quarter. The edifice has lately been restored with a new roof, the planking of which having but very recently been plastered on its upper surface with pitch as a security against leaks, many of the congregation at to-day's service, found their feet cleaving to the floor from the resinous stuff which had fallen through the crevices, and some too, had to bethink how discreetly to get up from their seats.

Crime
Statistics
for
Madras
and
Bengal.

10th June.—On the subject of seldom reports of dacoitie received from Madras (p. 79, vol. ii.) a reticence more or less observable in some other provinces, I may, being about to close the statistical returns for the past three years, in the preparation of which I have for some time been daily at work, here note what they present in regard to dacoitie both in Madras and Bengal, in which two provinces that crime would seem to have preponderated in comparison with the areas and populations appertaining to the others, difficult as it has been, in respect to *Madras particularly*, to gather from its numerous and intricately drawn up Crime Tables (and owing too, to the absence from them of all narrative of the attendant circumstances,) anything more than a mere figured statement of the occurrences there.

*Comparative Statement of Dacoities in Madras and Bengal, in
the three years ending with 1866.*

	Number of Cases	Killed	Wounded	Amount of Property Plundered			Amount of Property Recovered.			Supposed Number of Persons concerned	Arrested	Convicted	Released	Died	Escaped
				Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.						
Bengal ...	2,578	115	382	7,28,975	11	3	5,009	14	11	5,360	15,213	4,648	10,204	264	97
Madras ...	2,628	not stated		4,46,973	...	...	43,911	...	...	45,534	9,064	2,910	6,123	21	not shown

	Area	Population	Regular Police	Village Police	Proportion of Police to Area	Proportion of Police to Population
Bengal ...	Sq. Miles 217,441	40,279,179	34,071	186,110	Square Miles 1 to 6'38	Persons 1 to 1,182'21
Madras ...	141,746	26,549,062	25,835	13,314	1 to 5'48	1 to 1,027'64

My forwarding Report to Government, should notice the difficulties met with in drawing up these Statistics, arising from the *capricious* summaries of them received from the different District Officers, some furnishing fuller particulars than others, some giving none at all, the greater number sending in very meagre accounts, or at best so deficient in details, as seriously to affect that precision which should be the feature of statistics of the nature I am charged with. Not only was no clear classification to be arrived at of the importance, in point of their serious nature, to be attached to the different enumerated acts of crime comprised in the returns supplied; but, how to mark off those among them which were of a *professional* nature, that is, the deed of *born robbers*—criminals by caste and profession—was a perplexity. In explanation

Memorandum for Report.

whereof it might be shown how hard it has been to specify the varying degrees of dacoitie perpetrated throughout the country, as distinguishable from one another, to wit, (1) dacoitie committed through revenge or sudden conception ; (2) through poverty or famine, of the latter sort of which there were so many instances last year (1866 ;) (3) through caprice, or by which to attain an end, such as to divert an inheritance or get rid of some particular member of a family, of both of which I have met with examples in the course of our own special operations ; (4) tumultuous raids ; (5) acts of reprisal for affront or injury, as prevailing in our frontier districts ; (6) ordinary highway robberies ; (7) gang robberies of crops or of grain on threshing floors ; (8) on plantations or mango groves ; and (9) the acts of professional and practised dacoits, only perpetrated because it was their vocation, unimpelled by the motives which move ordinary criminals to commit them.

As to
Reticence

Referring, however, to the *reticence* before remarked (pp. 79, 86, vol. ii.,) on the part of Madras in respect to this office, observably shared in by Bengal also, attention might also be drawn to the idea which would seem to possess the Madras Police authorities, that where no “ torchlight gang robbery ” (Madras definition,) had taken place, *real dacoitie has not been committed*, because in their estimation, every other act of the crime, formed what, in the Madras Crime Returns, is termed “ technical dacoitie ” only. It should be brought to notice that if only gang robberies undertaken

by torchlight, were taken into account in Madras territory, the total number of "dacoities" down there, when confined to that nomenclature, would amount to no more, in the period under review, than 398 (viz. 153 in 1864, 98 in 1865, and 147 in 1866,) instead of so many as 2,628 as to be gathered from the Madras Crime Returns (viz. 939, 568, and 1,121 in each of those years,) which would fail faithfully to convey the state of that crime in a territory so much the home of professional robbers as Madras is, who seldom used lighted torches, except led to do so by the nature of the enterprise; and would fail too, to give to the crime the signification declared by law to belong to "dacoitie" when committed by five or more persons, and which included *every* such act of predation within that declared definition, without class distinctions in respect to the persons who committed it. The same might be remarked of Bengal, where there are also habitual gang robbers who do not use lighted torches except on occasions. I should point out, moreover, that the Law provides for the punishment of persons proved to have "belonged" to *any* gang of dacoits (or of thugs,) as comprehended within that legal interpretation "dacoitie," and pays no heed to the refinements which would seem to be now advocated. "If you want *dacoitie*, go to the upper Provinces," has been the observation in the jurisdiction pointed to, as though Madras were an Utopia in that regard! ¹

¹ P.S.—On this subject, in the Report eventually sent in, I stated from these commonplace notes, that the particular class of

Dacoitie
in Nine
Adminis-
trations.

I further here note that the statements as yet prepared, exhibit the following number of dacoities

robbers alluded to, carried on their mode of committing robbery, to a perfection which excluded any necessity for their lighting any torches at all, except they should be resisted or be unable (which was seldom,) to carry out their design of noiseless depredation—"the masterpiece of their art"—without converting it into one of open demonstration and violence: "I allude to the dacoits who, known to the Thuggee Department as *Korvee-Khaikarees*, are, in Madras and Mysore, otherwise variously called, but who all are, I believe, one and the same people. The same might be said of Bengal and other Provinces. Not that Bengal is infested by the same class of depredators, except I should eventually be able to declare the *Dômes* or *Dômras* to be identical with the Khaikarees, whom they resemble in every particular except in the use of tobacco (*vide* p. 73,)—but there are in Bengal, habitual robbers who do not use lighted torches. But however all this may be, a consideration of the *old* law would be useful to the question. It provided (Act XXIV. of 1843,) that whereas it had been considered necessary to adopt more stringent measures for the conviction of dacoits who belonged to certain tribes, systematically employed in carrying on their lawless pursuits in different parts of the country, and to extend certain laws for the prevention of thuggee, to persons concerned in the perpetration of dacoitie, it was enacted, that *whosoever* should be proved to have belonged to *any* gang of dacoits, shall be punished with transportation for life, etc. Now the *new* law (the Indian Penal Code,) embraces all these provisions, and defines moreover the different grades of punishment to the different degrees of the offence of 'dacoitie.' The comprehensive nature of the term *dacoitie* thus becomes very plain." And in another part of the same Report, I submitted on this latter subject: "Thus, therefore, the wisdom of the Legislature, which recognizes every act of open depredation by five or more persons, under the common designation of 'dacoitie,' and is not biassed by any nice distinctions such as are often advocated, but which, where *predation* has taken place, looks upon the perpetrators to be equally offenders, whatever their mode or manner of committing it, may not, I think, be questioned, or its reasonable decision on the subject, with any advantage be disturbed or meddled with, in the preparation of statements of the nature under report, however 'technical' the definition assigned by it to the crime of dacoitie, may by some be declared to be, of which these papers afford many instances." (*Colonel Hervey's Report to the Home Office, No. 344, 30th April 1868, paragraph 7.*)

in the *nine* administrations of India, (for of Burmah I have no cognizance,) in the period indicated :—

Bengal	2578	Population (round numbers)	40 $\frac{1}{4}$
North-Western Provinces	190	" "	30
Oudh	103	" "	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Punjab	62	" "	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Central Provinces .	92	" "	9
Madras	2628	" "	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bombay	357	" "	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mysore	279	" "	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Berar	252	" "	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
<hr/> Total 6541		* Total	153 $\frac{3}{4}$

* P.S.—
This was
the con-
ceived
Popula-
tion
before the
Census of
it was
taken.

And that they exhibit also, that in the total number of 6541 cases, property to the extent of 21,32,706 $\frac{1}{4}$ rupees exchanged hands, of which no more than an eleventh part was recovered; further, that 228 persons were killed in them and 1317 wounded, all on one side too, and *not on that of the enemy*—(a rare return when compared to that of any modern Indian battlefield!) and lastly, that of the 30,520 persons arrested, as the result of *local police action* more or less in these cases, a *third* only were convicted, for I have been unable to gather in how many of the cases.

Memo.—I do not in these notices mention the *area* or extent of each police jurisdiction, by which to compare the different administrations one with another, because it may be conceived how unsafe any data on the basis of “cases to area” might prove to be, since it could happen that more crime should take place in a large area with a limited

population, than in a small area with a great population; but it might, in respect of *area*, be stated of the comparative condition of *Bengal* and *Madras* in this particular of "dacoitie" (*vide* p. 87,) that while there appeared no great difference in that crime in the former province in the two leading years of the period under inquiry, (1864, 1865,) and a very noticeable increase only in the latest year of the series, 1866 (during which a sore famine prevailed and dacoitie rose in proportion,) *Madras*, although both in area and population no higher than *two-thirds* of those pertaining to *Bengal*, on the other hand showed a number of cases in the leading year (1864,) not very noticeably short of the number which occurred in the famine year, while in *Bengal* the difference in the number of cases between those two years (1864 and 1866,) was very great, as might be placed prominently to view by the following little table :—²

Years.					Bengal.	Madras.
					Cases.	* Cases.
1864	.	.	.	.	424	939
1865	.	.	.	.	495	568
1866	.	.	.	.	1659	1121
Total					2578	2628

² P.S.—The following is quoted from what was eventually submitted on the subject in my forwarding letter to the Government

11th June.—Blair reports the death at Aboo, on the 7th, of his important prisoner *Kishen Sing*,
of India in the Home Department, in the following year, No. 344, dated Delhi, 30th April 1868 :—

Reported
Death, at
Aboo, of
Dacoit
Kishen
Sing.

"If therefore the number of cases in Bengal during year of Famine (1866,) so greatly exceeded the number in the two preceding years, how account for the comparatively small difference in the number of cases for the similar years in Madras—or how account for Madras, with a considerably smaller area and population than Bengal, possessing a *larger* number of cases than it in the first two years of the series, and almost as great a number in the famine year?

"Bearing in mind that the Famine raged (as I believe,) in a far more contracted space, or at any rate, in a milder form, in Madras than in Bengal, it is to be noticed that crime *increased* in Madras in a greater ratio—or in other words, that while the difference in cases of dacoitie between the famine year and the two preceding years, was in Bengal very great, showing that to famine was to be attributed the excess, in *Madras* there was not that great increase caused by famine which might have been expected, if to famine was mainly to be attributed the cause of so much dacoitie. . . . If this should be so, it may perhaps be ascribed to accidental causes only, that the crime should in the middle year of the series (1865,) have comparatively been so low in Madras as 568 cases (a number which nevertheless far exceeds that in any other Province in any year of the series except Bengal in the one single year of the famine,) and not to any *operating* cause, that in the famine year it should have exceeded so little as by 182 cases only (1121—939,) the number in the other preceding quiet year (1864,) other than that perhaps there was a viciousness in the people by whom generally the crime was perpetrated, or in the particular individuals by whom perhaps a great number of the cases were committed, *to deter whom from which no sufficient example had been made*—or that they found a facility for perpetrating the crime in Madras, which was not presented to dacoits in other parts of India; and perhaps the presence in Madras territory of a numerous people, who, notwithstanding their various designations, belong to one and the same stock and may be recognized under a common denomination, *their common occupation being to commit dacoitie and gang-burglary*, may account for the crime. I here again allude to the great robber confederacy, who, known to this Department as *Khaikaries* and *Korwees* (*vide* p. 347, footnote 348; 350, vol. i., and p. 20 and 73, vol. ii.,) are in Madras variously

the same who was arrested at Ajmere on information treacherously given by the man *Chouthmull*, of his trying to cheat the opium Customs (*vide* pp. 181 to 183, and 195, vol. i.) Blair had charge of his case. We had several dacoities against him, and should have been able to show, moreover, that it was he who, joined by Motee Sing Meena and others, carried out the bold plan of rescuing Ward's four prisoners, at Jalnah last November, as already described (*vide* p. 163, vol. i.)³ He and Motee Sing Meena were both previously in our custody at Akolah in Berar, in charge at that period of Captain Davies, my extra assistant in that direction (*vide* Journal for 1864.) Davies had irregularly, and without waiting for orders, released Motee Sing (the sometime associate of the two police constables Jcewun Sing and Chouthmull—*vide* p. 75, vol. ii. ;) and no sooner did this happen than Kishen Sing got freed too !

We were at the races again to-day. The lad rode his pony "Jim Crow" against some

designated" (here their several local names were given.) "They are the same people, by a small gang of whom *Mr. Ralph Horsley*, of the Madras Civil Service, was murdered in his bungalow at Bellary, on the night of the 4th July 1856, when a magistrate of that district, as submitted by me in previous reports in the Foreign Department. Their existence throughout Madras as professional depredators was specially reported by me to the Madras Government in September 1859, and it will be perceived that they were not only lately pointed to by the neighbouring Mysore authorities (*vide* Colar, in Mysore, in the Statistical Statements for 1865,) but that their excesses were in a measure even admitted in the Madras Crime Returns for 1864 and 1866. As reported by me on previous occasions, they also exist throughout Mysore itself, and I would refer to some remarks in support thereof under Coorg, in the similar Statement for 1866."

³ *Vide* p. 29, vol. i.

Arab galloways, so only came in third. His racing soubriquet is "young Paul," my own on like occasions having been "Captain Paul." For in those old days it was to have a black mark against you to be openly known to keep race-horses, and an *incognito* became consequently a practice.

12th June.—It had been ruled, when wider scope was given to the Thuggee Department in Native Territory, that the several rulers should contribute towards the maintenance of the establishments so employed. To be sure a very small sum was fixed upon—14,000 rupees per annum only—proportionately divided among the three groups of Native States, namely, the Nizam, and the States of Central India, and of Rajpootanah. The measure was very distasteful, however, to the several chiefs, and *Scindiah*, the Ruler of Gwalior, complained of it in person to the Viceroy at Calcutta, although his share of the payment was no more than 200 rupees per mensem. Both he and *Holkur*, the Indore Chieftain, urged that their own police arrangements would suffice to meet the evil to suppress which the extraneous aid of the special Thuggee Department had been called in. But Colonel Meade, the Governor-General's Agent at Indore, represented that its withdrawal "would be most detrimental to the general peace of the country." The Government of India upon this, countermanded payment of the contribution, as "not worth the ill-feeling which the measure had excited." But no sooner had this been conceded, than the other equally dis-

Contribution from Native States countermanded.

Compensation for Mail Robberies in Native States introduced.

relished measure was put into force, that every Native State in which the mail of the British Government was plundered, should pay a compensation equivalent to the value of the property robbed. The several chieftains consider that this unexpected declaration nullifies the concession vouchsafed in the other matter. I have already noted upon this subject (pp. 134 to 137, 248, 392, vol. i., and pp. 43, 44 and 45, vol. ii.) Scindiah has been the stoutest in remonstrating against the obnoxious rule. He declared it was in effect to class him, whose police arrangements had been admittedly very good, with those other rulers who had organized no police at all or worth the name, nor had introduced any of the reforms he had been commended for ; and he still maintains his objections, although aware that so far from any appropriation of them, the amercements would be collected into a reserve fund for the purpose of distribution among the widows and families of the employes killed in such acts of plunder, or to those who should be crippled or disabled thereby. He was aware too, that the robbed parties would not be admitted to compensation from the fund, for their evasion in sending articles for despatch which were forbidden by the Post Office rules, as proved by the robbery of them (*vide* footnote p. 45.) Dislike to the measure exists nevertheless. Scindiah will not allow himself to be smoothed down, although informed in reply to his remonstrance, that “instead of making the comparative excellence of police arrangements a basis

on which to claim exemption from the operation of the rules, His Highness should rather regard this circumstance as a guarantee of the rarity with which they will affect his State, and strive by further measures of amelioration, to reduce their chances of touching him to a minimum." This by way of a sop, I suppose! The *Times of India* has now an article on the subject. It says that the measure "has no doubt been deprived of its sting" by the above, as it would seem to have been adopted "by way of indirect compulsion to induce Durbars to organize a complete police force"; and that their complaints have been made use of by the Government of India, "in order to commend the chiefs who have paid most attention to their police":—"The remonstrances of princes of this class, prompted in many cases by a genuine sense of political dignity, have been met by an implied assurance" that (as intimated by the Bombay Government to the Rao of Cutch, another dissentient ruler,) isolated instances of the plunder of mails in their territories, "would not be considered cause for the strict enforcement of the rules, which were of a provision for the interference of Government in States where systematic disorder imperils the passage of Her Majesty's mails."

Objections by Native Rulers.

The editor observes of this, while admitting in regard to the other dissatisfied Ruler that "the Viceroy does his best to speak the testy Scindiah fair," that "this discretionary distinction is one which it will not be very easy to maintain

Editorial on the Subject.

in practice, and one which may give rise to odious comparisons. We have said little as to the manifest inpolicy of subjecting the sovereigns of our largest Native States, like the Nizam and representatives of the most ancient dynasties of Rajpootanah, to the same stern treatment which might be considered needful in the case of some upstart Rajah with a pedigree only a century old, or some half-reclaimed hill Thakoor. The risk of giving mortal offence, in half a dozen cases that might be named, would, we think, to a wise politician, seem utterly incommensurate with whatever practical advantage may be gained by proclaiming these compensation rules throughout the rest of India." It might certainly be advanced in defence of the measure, that it was sure to effect its purpose, like that which checked the Saxon guerillas by making responsible the whole "hundred" in which any murdered Norman had been found (*vide* p. 332)—"but our contention is" (the paper goes on,) "that the end might be better gained by means more suited to the present condition of our Indian Empire; and this regulation, which has held the threat of fine and mulct over the tributary sovereign princes of India, has been regarded"—it further observed—as a dictatorial policy"; then followed something too *ex-cathedra*, which I omit to quote—but the article proceeds more reasonably to remark, that if the rule had been greatly tempered in the application, it was still needful, it urged, to allude to the effect of it on the sensitiveness of the chiefs and princes

against whom it was levelled; and if further pleaded in its defence that it was in accordance with ancient usage for Native States to compensate travellers who were robbed and maltreated in passing through their dominions, that the principle embodied in it might be said to have only systematized and fixed a custom that had been acted upon from time immemorial, and that the Government of India in issuing it was consequently only applying to an imperial purpose a well-established and accepted municipal law,—the reply was, “that the analogy was not, in the estimation of the quoted journal, nearly complete enough to justify this imperious enactment”:—“For a State voluntarily to compensate an individual traveller, or a small party of merchants who may have suffered injury because of neglect on the part of the State of ordinary public duty, is a very different thing from the chief of the Durbur being called upon by the Paramount Power to repay the value of the property which some desperate outlaws have seized from the tempting treasures unlawfully carried in an undefended mail cart or *dák gháree*.”—However all this, anything that will serve to lessen the number of acts of plunder in Native States, serves us—but not if by it Native Rulers are led to growl and grow lukewarm in the cause.

I write congratulating Ranken on his promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel in the Madras Staff Corp.

13th June.—I have mentioned of the habits of Mooltani Dacoits.

Mooltani
Dacoits.

the tribe of dacoits called *Mooltānees*, that they follow up convoys of piece goods, sugar, opium, etc., laden upon carts (*vide* p. 336.) Baroda and Cambay have been from old their haunts. From there they sally on their distant expeditions, and to there do they retreat after a successful season. Khunjur dacoits, their congeners, also often find safety in that direction under the guise of being *Bhāt mendicants* and *Guzerattee Dhombārees*. Mooltānee plunderers, so much in the habit of *dacoiting* convoys of opium and other merchandise in Khandeish, come mostly from Baroda territory, and although the Guicowar assumes an attitude of lofty independence, and our Resident at his Court has stiffly informed me that his office "was not in the habit of rendering any crime returns to any office," I have nevertheless taken that important Native State to be certainly included in and not specially *excluded* from the system of general supervision with which my office has been charged, or from the scope of the "resolution" which constituted *all* Political Officers in Native States to be "Superintendents for the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoitic" *in communication with myself*; Guzerat generally, and Baroda therein more particularly, presenting a safe thoroughfare to plunderers from the Upper Native States, and the home or the refuge of those who depredate in the central regions of India. I have therefore directed a command party to be sent with approvers down to Guzerat and Baroda.⁴

⁴ P.S.—This resulted in the arrest of six registered Mooltānee

In a pony match this afternoon at Anandale between "Jim Crow" and another, Owners up, the former came in the winner—great rejoicing

14th June.—Respecting the *Khunjurs* as dacoits, I mentioned at an earlier date of this Journal (*vide* p. 435, vol. i.) the account given to me by a man of the tribe named *Himtya*, of his earliest recollections, how when wandering about in a forest in the outskirt of which a gang of his people had encamped. on an expedition of dacoitie, and he and his little playmate sister had fallen asleep in it, she was carried off by a tiger, etc. In looking over this man's subsequent career, I come upon the following narration by him of one of his own many acts of plunder. It is an old case, and I only mention it here in connection with our continued proceedings against the same people of the present generation, repeating it from my own report of it. *Himtya* had become the right-hand man of a celebrated *Jemadárnee* of the tribe named *Tumbólin*. On her husband's execution some time before, for a dacoitie at *Pudéchoor* in Madras territory, she was acclaimed by his

Khunjurs: Story of the Plunder of the Military Treasure Chest at Sholapore.

dacoits and a fugitive approver, in the *Kairah* district near Cambay; of six other criminals of the same tribe, and another escaped approver in *Baroda*; also in the capture of a gang of thirteen *Khunjur* dacoits and yet another escaped approver, in the adjacent *Punch Mchals* (Baroda territory,) who had doubled there from Baroda itself. This re-captured approver (by name *Mulla*), had run away from the *Thuggee* Police at Indore in 1864. Seven of the latter gang were convicted, of whom one subsequently confessed to and recounted eighteen acts of dacoitie in different parts of the country.

followers to take his place as their leader, and she frequently did conduct them accordingly to the point of attack, although she did not personally join in the affray itself, but managed all the concerns of the gang, acquainted herself with all the necessary information of suitable places to plunder, and settled every preliminary, leaving the actual conflict to the leadership of her chosen captain, the man *Himtya*; and this intrepid lady became so notorious for her successful enterprises, that a reward of 1000 rupees was proclaimed for her arrest. But she was never captured, and lived to an old age, dying at last among her own people in their retreat in the fastnesses of the Oudh Terae. The dacoitie I am about to relate was a remarkable one. It was one of many similar daring attacks upon treasure even when under the escort of military guards of the line, and of which I am able to narrate several. This one, cursorily alluded to before (*vide* p. 411, vol. i.,) happened in this wise. This class of dacoits invariably commit gang robbery at nightfall, just about lamp-lighting time, at which listless period of an Indian day, cattle are being sluggishly driven into the towns and villages from the open country, and tired-out toilers of various pursuits are returning to their homes, or village accountants and the clerks of native bankers particularly, are engaged in casting up in their *wulhees* or ledgers the transactions of the day, taken from the paper slips in which they had *itemed* them; and at which hour too, night watches are set in military cantonments, sentries

doubled where necessary, and their hitherto piled arms outside, are removed by the several guards to within their respective guard-rooms. This critical hour is particularly chosen too, by these dacoits, that they may have the whole night before them for escaping to their distant rendezvous, and the whole of the following day in which to get farther on without halting, except for a hasty meal, towards their remote original starting-point, often a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles distant from the scene of the just perpetrated outrage. The tribe had often successfully committed dacoitie in the contiguous Southern Mahratta country—so low down even as Goa in Portuguese territory—coming down for the purpose from their haunts in far Hindostan; and on the present occasion *Tumbôlin* had brought her gang down from near Indore in Central India. For in those days, and indeed very much even at this date, such people were able to travel over the vast unsupervised plains and crossways of the peninsula, without attracting particular notice; or if noticed, to be shunned only by the wary, and seldom successfully avoided even by these, as my many tales of violent crime have shown.

Coming down in this way in quest of booty, *Tumbôlin* planted her *tânda* or encampment in the neighbourhood of *Nuldroog*, some fifteen miles distant from the military cantonments of Sholapore. The spot was a wild one, and being situated within the frontier of the Native Government of

the Nizam of Hyderabad, it presented an additional sense of security as being safer still from all local interference. She next proceeded to *Sholapore* itself to look about her, whether in the cantonments or in the native town, accompanied by two of her men and by a couple of women, assuming to be *Dhombárees*, a class of showpeople and singing mendicants from Guzerat (*vide* p. 100,) a device by which they not only obtain alms, but access to such places as seem desirable to their ends. In the Sholapore cantonments, then, they went about among the bungalows of the *Sahib-lôgue*, or officers of the station, singing various ballads, particularly that favourite one among the European community, which quaintly describes, in measured rhythm and pretty jingle, the strange ways, according to native conception, of the remarkable "Topee-wállahs" or *hat and bonnet-wearing folk*, as Europeans in India are often called, quite as frequently as "Ingleez" or "Feringhee" (Frank or foreigner,) and "Gôra-lôgue" or fair folk, the refrain of which lay was "*Arè! Têpee-wáláh (Oh my! what Topee-walabs!)*", each preceding verse describing some wonderful tale of them, whether of love, war, or frolic, or prowess in shikár exploits, one particular verse recounting, much to the amusement of the European listener, how a certain Sahib "deserted his children, set fire to his house, and fled with somebody's wife." Beguiling the different *Sâhib and Mêm Lôgue* in this manner, and with feats as acrobats and posture-masters, the crafty lot at

length presented themselves in the compound of the bungalow of the Brigadier himself who commanded the troops of the station, General Brooke, a well-known officer of the Bombay Army of repute for smartness and dash, in front of whose dwelling paced a sentinel from his or the "Commanding Officer's Guard;" and across the hedge separating which from the adjoining compound, the robber scouts perceived another sentry on duty from a stronger Guard of Infantry Sepoys there also posted. This other *compound* they also presently reconnoitred under the same pretences. They perceived the guard there to be over a *Treasure lumbril*, and learnt that the bungalow close by it was the dwelling of the Paymaster himself of the Field Force. Outside of the cantonments they were met by the man *Himtya*, who, with two or three others, had similarly visited the town and fort of Sholapore, situated within the former of which he had marked down the house of a wealthy tobacconist, who was also a Sahoocar, which might, he thought, be by-and-by attempted. On their return that night to their *tánda*, Himtya discussed with the Jemadárnee the chances in favour of either enterprise—the said Sahoocar's securely-built *kôthi* or residence and place of business inside of the town, or the more dangerous one of an attack upon the military treasure chest of the Sahib-lôgue within the cantonments. Both decided upon the *latter* and more daring attempt, as adding *éclat* to the prestige of the tribe and to the Jemadárnee's own renown. So both localities were

still further to be spied—the exact spot of the strong room of the man of wealth to be discovered, and the approaches to it through the crowded town examined, on the one hand, and the ways usual at nightfall of the military cantonment to be mastered, the means of escape through the broken ground in its neighbourhood, and how successfully to baffle pursuit through it by cavalry, to be thoroughly explored on the other. Tumbôlin, satisfied from her own personal scrutiny of the feasibility of the latter undertaking, commissioned her prime henchman, *Himtya*, to arrange further steps in respect to it, while she personally should acquaint herself in like manner with what it was necessary to learn and make sure of for the other or alternative enterprise, now or hereafter. She did so accordingly within the next few days, not only by a minute survey of the means of access to and escape from the marked down dwelling, situated as it was within the walled city, but, by the artifice of presenting at the “dookan” or counter, so here to call it, located within the Sahoocar’s stronghold, some coinage of a remote currency for exchange into the current money of the locality, she was even able to mark down the recess or strong room in the same corridor, wherein the rich man’s wealth was deposited. The clever process by which this is accomplished by this particular class of robbers, described already in my previous journals, need not be here detailed—for that house was not robbed on this particular occasion, although it was at a subsequent period by a distinct gang of the

same tribe, upon information independently acquired by its Naique (another notorious leader named *Grassia*, *vide* p. 197, vol. ii.,) on which latter occasion three persons of the house were killed by the robbers, and *six* wounded, the dacoits escaping with, however, an indifferent booty. They numbered twenty-seven men on that subsequent occasion, all of whom fell into our custody at different periods, *Grassia* becoming one of my best approvers. He died of cholera while out with an arresting party of the Thuggee Police. I will therefore only go on with the exploit which was carried out by the present gang and boldly achieved, although with disappointing results.

The troops posted at Sholapore were composed of a regiment of regular native cavalry, two corps of native infantry, and a troop of European horse artillery, all of the Bombay Army, under the command, as I have said, of a Brigadier. The Civil Sessions Judge of the jurisdiction, resided at a spot beyond the town in the neighbourhood of the local criminal jail, and the Collector and Magistrate of the district, and his several assistants and other officials of the Bombay Civil Service, occupied bungalows, whether on sufferance within the cantonments, or close within the neighbourhood thereof; and the whole formed a numerous and compact body of residents in full development of a civil and military station in India—of ladies and gentlemen (civilians,) their children, ayahs, servants and official attendants, and of military officers and their wives, their respective

troops, and all the adjuncts and circumstances of an important military command.

Hintya duly possessed himself with all the information necessary to the meditated attack, and thereupon, to allay suspicion, their *tánda* or encampment was moved to a more distant point, and a *tippun* or rendezvous, appointed at a spot conveniently near enough to the point of attack for the different members of the gang to zig-zag to it after flight, and where a couple of men and two or three women should await them with ponies provided with *korcheens* or saddle-bags for the expected booty.

Captain R. Lewis, of the 22nd Bombay Native Infantry, was the military Paymaster at Sholapore at this period, and he and three or four other officers (Captain Poole of the 1st Bombay Cavalry, Captain Morris of the 9th Bombay Native Infantry, author of the well-known Indian hunting songs, "The Snaffle, Spur, and Spear," and "The Boar, the mighty Boar;" and another officer,) had just returned from a day's sport in the open country, and were awaiting some refreshments in the verandah of his bungalow, fronting which, at a little distance, stood the treasure tumbril and the guard-room appertaining to the charge of it, the kitchen being a little way hard by. The man Hintya had been there the previous afternoon, not only to take a last look at the premises, but to fix upon a spot in some broken ground not far outside of them, where at evening to bury or conceal the bamboo hafts of the spears of the

gang in expectancy of the planned attack—and he had witnessed the Havildars on the Paymaster's establishment, depositing all the money-bags within the *right-hand* one of the two compartments of which the tumbril was composed. The tired officers were still seated in the verandah—the short twilight had ceased—the guard over the treasure had just relieved its sentries, and had posted double sentinels immediately over the tumbril itself, a precaution which was to last throughout the night, and the rest of the Sepoys of the guard had retired into the guard-room, taking their arms with them. The dacoits, who had by now taken out their bamboos from where they had been hidden, and fixed spear-heads on to them, had on their part—their loins tightly girded, and shoes secured behind their waist-cloths—stealthily approached the entrance into the Paymaster's compound, crouching as they went along under cover of the high cactus or prickly pear hedge by which this and the other several local premises were surrounded. No sooner they perceived that the Sepoys of the guard had retired into their guard-room, than the man Himtya, very composedly stepped forward and *shut them up within it*, by quietly putting up the chain fastening of the door to the hasp above it, two other dacoits simultaneously rushed in and ruthlessly speared both sentinels, while another boldly mounted the tumbril, and breaking off the heavy padlock with a blow from an axe, quickly laid open *the right-hand compartment of it*. The

alarm having been raised, the sentinel at the Brigadier's quarters fired through the dividing hedge upon the robbers. At this moment a servant conveying from the kitchen the tray of the called-for refreshments, had a blow aimed at him—it missed, the spear passing between his legs—and the affrighted man fled headlong to the bungalow, his tray and its contents cast away upon the ground. Captain Lewis ("Bob Lewis") and his friends, now only became aware of the presence of robbers, and that the treasure-tumbril was under attack! They hastened out. The barrels of their guns happened to have been discharged and were empty, except one loaded with small shot. The possessor of this weapon promptly fired it off at the dacoits, and at once brought down one of their number. And now, too, the plunderers had discovered that they had broken into the *wrong* compartment—the correct one inasmuch as they had supposed—but it had happened, by the merest chance, and without any intention of precaution, that the money-bags had been removed from it that very forenoon, prior to the Paymaster proceeding on *shikár*, and been placed in the other or *left-hand* one! And now, too, the robbers were themselves, in their turn, assailed, "*and that, too, by saheb-lôgue*" (as the man Himtya expressed it to me,) and one of their own number besides, been shot! So all things seemed adverse to them, and rapid flight was only left them—bugle and trumpet-notes reverberating through the night air, and the call to arms and assembly sounded! They there-

upon at once decamped, lifting their disabled comrade away with them—but to expedite their escape, and because he was hopelessly wounded, they presently laid the man down in the broken ground through which they fled, and, picking up their look-outs posted at their *tippun* or meeting-place, they forthwith hastened on, the women in turn astride the ponies. By midnight they had rejoined their *tándah*. All was ready there to go on with them, and all went on accordingly, Tumbôlin mounted on her favourite piebald pony. They travelled the rest of the night and all next day, only halting for a hasty meal for man and beast, and then onwards again until they had reached far, far beyond the Kistna, and felt they were secure from pursuit or detection. Meanwhile there had been great commotion in the cantonments the bold robbers had visited. Vedettes and patrols of cavalry were sent out scouring the country for miles in different directions, while the rest of the troops stood to their arms! At morning the wounded dacoit was found and brought in. He would disclose nothing, and died during the day, true to his associates to his latest breath.

The Brigadier reported the following day to Army Head-quarters, that his camp had been attacked “by a numerous and well-organized banditti,” and that he had made every disposition “to repel their renewed attack expected that night!” In point of fact, the gang that had created this stir and alarm, *numbered no more than sixteen persons!*

The fifteen survivors fell into our hands, all sooner or later, and were disposed of.

Marriage
Process-
sion
despoiled
within the
City of
Poonah.

Ten years later Tumbolin's gang appeared, on dacoity bent, in the Poona district. The Foujdar or head of the City Police of Poona, was being married, and on the evening of the ceremony the whole of the City Police were attending the marriage procession in another part of the crowded city. Suddenly, at nightfall, the strong dwelling or *kóli* of a rich Marwáree merchant situated inside of it, was attacked by persons shouting intimidation, bearing flaming torches, and armed with spears and axes. They broke into the Marwáree's strong room and plundered it of a booty valued at 5000 rupees. But as they were escaping through the town, two of their number were captured. One of these was the man *Himtya himself*. It was his last robbery. He was convicted, while his companion was acquitted from his declaring "that he was a poor labourer who happened to be passing by the scene of the dacoitie, when he was knocked down by one of the robbers, and that when these had escaped, he was seized by the police as though he had been one of them." This latter affair was happily unattended with bloodshed. The custody of Himtya was claimed by myself, and it was then that he made to me all his revelations. He became a very valuable approver and assisted me in bringing many of the tribe to justice.⁵

⁵ P.S.—One of the dacoities disclosed in the course of the operations that followed on these revelations, was a similar daring exploit at *Hump-ságur* on the opposite bank of the *Tumboodra*

15th June, Saturday.—Simlah being situated within the limits of the Punjab Government, it would surely be an ungracious act for the departments of the Supreme Government temporarily residing at Simlah, not to follow the excellent example set by the Punjab, in granting a half-holiday occasionally of a Saturday to its different establishments ! Our clerks, Native and European, would certainly so regard it on beholding their fellow scribes of the local Government, “abounding in beneficence, cherisher of the poor,” excused office attendance, and themselves not so indulged ! But holiday or no holiday, certainly a large number of us of the Supreme Government, who are up here with our several offices, gathered this afternoon at a monster picnic given by General and Mrs. Brind on the wooded hill below Elysium, where stands a scrubby temple dedicated by the hillmen to their “Hunnoomán.” The proximity of the hallowed spot was no hindrance to the enjoyment of the occasion, and *desipere in loco* was exactly the course observed, to which the abundance provided for the numerous guests contributed no little ; and to those who liked, the inviting

river on the *Canara* frontier, and it is identical with that with which “*Seeta*,” one of the late Colonel Meadows Taylor’s beautiful Indian novels opens, as he admitted to me, the scene of it and the names of the principal actors concerned being disguised, but not the details. Colonel Taylor, from his position at Shorapoor-Bedur, co-operated with myself, acting from the Bombay side, in putting a stop to the depredations of this particular tribe in those southern regions, as related in that able officer’s highly interesting “*Story of my Life*.”

solitudes round about, offered no obstacles to their wandering about them primevally :

“ To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair.”

Then at night I was a guest at a dinner party given by our socially popular Minister of Finance. This second festivity concluded with singing as in the old mess table times. I suppose out of the peculiar association, I was called upon to sing *Dick Turpin*. I was sorry ; but Phœbus had not

“ taught me how to sing,
How to tune the vocal string.”

16th June, Sunday.—To church, to listen to the preaching of our new chaplain, Mr. Baly, who might, not intrusively, be compared with the most eloquent of Temple preachers.

Objections to
our claim-
ing Pri-
soners
from
Native
Jails.

17th June.—Employed in drafting a reference from the Agent Governor-General for Rajpootanah, on the request of a Political Agent, that we should cease to apply for the custody of prisoners in the jails of Native Courts, claimed by our approvers as their associates in crime (*vide* p. 62, vol. ii.) Of course I object to forego this advantage. I am bound, for the purposes of our special duties, to avail myself whenever I am able of local police action, so fitful as it is, against professional marauders, and to claim from among the persons arrested, those who occasionally happen to be in our lists of registered criminals, and of whose criminality there is evidence on record. If able to trace them to within prison walls, why not be permitted to look for

them there? It was the action of my predecessor, and I have not seen any injustice, but the contrary, to proceed from it.

I come upon some atrocious acts of poisoning in the Statements of that crime under preparation in continuation of the series of Dacoitie Returns for the past three years, now nearly completed, but not yet sent up. The devices resorted to in this species of Thuggee are many—a particular one whereof is the pretence of being marriage agents—a sort of peripatetic “Matrimonial News” mongers as it were.

Poisoners
disguised
as Mar-
riage
Agents.

A woman appeared at a house and claimed relationship with the inmates, declaring she had come to talk over a contemplated marriage. The family consisted of a man, his father, wife, and two daughters. The woman being invited to stay for some food, wheaten cakes were made ready and some vegetables placed on the fire, for flavouring which the eldest child, a girl of eleven years of age, occupied herself in grinding some condiments, while the stranger went on discussing the pretended family matter. She presently proposed to help the girl in what she was doing, and being suffered to do so, the latter after a time got up and accompanied her mother on some errand outside, leaving the stranger to be entertained, when the meal should be ready, by the other members of the family at that moment occupied in another part of the dwelling. When the food was laid out, the owner of the house and his old father both partook of it, but the other daughter

“thinking it tasted nasty,” spat it out, and getting up, went away. The woman excused herself with some *chowpattee* or bread-cake only. Both men became insensible, and in the confusion consequent on the wife and other daughter, on their return home, finding them in that condition, and in their endeavours to bring them round, the stranger managed to get clear away with the ornaments she had taken from the persons of the two men. They died from the effects of the poison which the woman had mixed in the spices with which the food was flavoured.

It was supposed that this method of committing the crime—that is, by assuming to be marriage agents—had been forsaken, from the example of the execution of the noted criminal named *Mootasuddee*, mentioned before, who, under that pretence, had inveigled and murdered nineteen persons after the same manner (*vide* p. 261, vol. i.) That desirable result was chiefly due to Major McAndrew, at that time my assistant for the Punjab. The people were, as previously noticed, warned of the artifices the criminal and his accomplices resorted to, in enticing victims from their homes under the delusion of their contracting or settling marriage alliances through their agency, and every intelligence of their mode of procedure was disseminated. But of no avail—for here now was another case, after the same fashion, in addition to that other instance in the Rhôtuck district mentioned at an earlier date (*vide* p. 258, vol. i.) The practice was confined to no particular province, for there had been examples

of it lower down in India, and it was a special part of the procedure also to pretend (as in the instance just narrated,) to be even acquainted with the family of the selected victims, by which means to ingratiate themselves in their good graces. Thus, to quote an instance from my report of it, a woman would appear, footsore and weary, at a house the master of which was absent at labour in the fields, and his wife and daughter engaged in preparing his meal against his return at evening. The stranger would ask for water and to be allowed to rest there for a while. In the course of the conversation she would tell the girl she knew her aunt, "Bheemec," of whom she had previously, by some means, acquired information, or possibly had really met. This repeated by the girl to her mother, that aunt's sister—"Oh! mother! here is a poor woman, who says she knows aunt Bheemee!"—would naturally create some interest in the tired traveller. Soft-spoken, and seemingly really travel-worn, she would be permitted to stay a little longer and to lie down, on the understanding that she must go away before the absent husband's return, who, more wary, might chide the wife for her imprudent affability towards an absolute stranger. The good wife herself would presently have occasion to quit the room, generally the vestibule on the ground floor, leaving her daughter to attend to the meal on the fire; and soon, too, the girl herself would go out into the back-yard to fetch firewood, or to attend to the calf tied up in it, and thus afford the looked-for opportunity for the appa-

Poisoners
pretend-
ing to
be ac-
quainted
with
Members
of the
Family.

rently slumbering stranger to drug the cooking food. She would raise her head on her elbow, look eagerly all round, listen, get up, run up to the fire, quickly mix up in the rice or other food under preparation upon it, the powder—the poison—she was already provided with, and as hastily return to her recumbent position upon the floor-mat or on the *ruzálee* or quilt that had been placed for her to lie down upon. On the return of either mother or daughter, the woman would be still as if asleep; and by-and-by, towards evening, she would arise, thank her kind hostesses very warmly—“ would be sure to tell ‘ Bheemee ’ about them, and how very, very kind they had been to her ”—and depart, but only to lurk about in the vicinity. On the husband’s return home from his daily toil in the fields, or whatever his occupation, the family would tell him of the friendly visit, and all then partake of their evening repast; and in due time, the woman would stealthily come back, peep warily into the house, and, finding all quiet within it and the inmates indeed, prostrated on the floor in a state of insensibility—*of utter unconsciousness*—would rob their persons and the residence and hurriedly decamp, leaving not a trace of herself. The woman in this particular case was seventy years of age. “ Three similar instances were (said my report of the occasion) proved against her. She was recognized by the inmates of the house, who fortunately had recovered, and on conviction she was, in consideration of her advanced years, sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment with labour suited to her sex and age.

The wicked old woman pleaded poverty, and offered to my assistant at Lucknow (Captain T. H. Chamberlain,) to become a Christian if spared the pain and disgrace of a trial ! ”

There is often an unwillingness on the part of the sufferers who recover, to come forward with evidence ; and (as I reported on the occasion, have often done so, and still continue to represent,) “ it is only when death has ensued that, generally, any reliance can be placed for a report of it being made at all, or the scene of the occurrence being traced.”

Unwill-
ingness to
give Evi-
dence in
Poisoning
Cases.

18th June.—“ Waterloo ” in all our minds.—All day at work at translations from the narratives of our approvers. Many of their tales of crime are startling, not only for atrocity but for frequency. Was late consequently in getting out for my usual walk round Jako, and so was back late for dinner—a solitary, almost benighted, pheasant, with a rushing sweep of his wings, perching on an oak in our grounds, overhauling the road, at the latest moment of the twilight as I returned.—Hugh accompanied his mother to the concluding concert of Madame Bishop’s series.

19th June.—In some of the poisoning cases in the period I am reviewing, sometimes the local police have been unaware of the occurrence, even when death has been the result ; and when at length it is heard of, there is no *corpus delicti* from lapse of time ; and although all the details are satisfactorily corroborated, the culprits escape conviction. There is at Jemálpore a hill, over the tunnel close to the railway station, called the

Failure in
Corrobor-
ation.

A
Brahmin
poisoned
at Jemál-
pore.

“Kunkútree Puhár” or stony hill. At a well at the foot of it, four poisoners, accompanied by a young Brahmin whom they had inveigled by the way, aged about twenty-five years, sat down to rest and refresh themselves. They made some sherbet both in their own and in the traveller’s brass *lotah* or drinking vessel. He drank the contents of his own vessel—they took care to confine themselves to what they had prepared in theirs. All then together clambered up to the top of the hill and sat down under a tamarind tree. There the traveller, who was only partially insensible, soon dropped off asleep. Thereupon one of the gang felt about him for his *hummeeánah*, a purse usually hidden about the waist; the traveller, still somewhat conscious, raised himself and seized the man by his hand. The latter upon this threw him backwards violently upon the rocky ground, another lifted up a great stone and dashed it upon his chest—blood flowed from the poor man’s nose and mouth, and he expired. The murderers obtained no more than *twelve and a half rupees*, found concealed round their victim’s waist, which, and the poor fellow’s *lotah* and a *ruzáee* or quilted coverlet, made of a red spotted stuff, they appropriated, and went away, leaving the dead body there on the open ground. Mr. Reily, whom I have mentioned as having been specially employed in these inquiries in Bengal in communication with myself (*vide* pp. 38, 42, and 450, vol. i.) unravelled this case. Two men, concerned in another similar murder, had fallen into his custody. They

confessed, and among other cases mentioned this one also. They were separately taken on different dates, and each pointed out the same spot as that upon which the murder had been committed. In the house of another of the accomplices denounced by them, a *red spotted ruzée* was found, of which he was unable to give a satisfactory account. On the fourth or remaining accomplice being traced and arrested, he admitted the murder. But, for the reasons already given, the case could not be sent up for trial; the police had not heard of the occurrence; no remains were discovered; there was no independent testimony to corroborate that of the approvers.

Went to a cricket match in the afternoon at Anandale, to see the lad play in the "Lights" against the "Heavies." He was "not out" when the game ended.—Rain had for some time been threatening, and it fell heavily as the meeting broke up, wetting us all. I had walked down; and I returned in the same manner, by another way leading distantly round under Peterhoff, a steep, zig-zagging, and very picturesque ascent. I like this kind of exercise, but was very tired by the time I got back home. Fell in with Sir Henry Durand as he ascended the hill on horseback, with whom a long talk. He is always very affable, and to me speaks unreservedly of many things.

Cricket
Match.

Sir Henry
Durand.

● 20th June.—A gang of Meena dacoits had lurked in the vicinity of Agra during the assemblage at that place of the many great chieftains who attended the Viceroy's late Durbár with their numer-

Treasure
Dacoitie
at Mohun-
poora.

ous retinues, from different parts of the country. Their object was plunder (*vide* pp. 17 and 31, vol. i.) but we had appointed approvers accompanied by Nujjees to be on the alert, moving about the crowded places and in the different distinct encampments by which the entire neighbourhood was filled, an arrangement which, with the precautions also taken by the local police, no doubt served to scare them away, both Captain James Blair, our assistant for Rajpootanah, and myself, being also present with our respective establishments at distant points of the great camp. But not before the robbers had managed, nevertheless, to obtain information of a large consignment of treasure consisting of *reals*, silver brick, coral beads, etc., which to the value of upwards of 41,500 rupees, had then recently been received at Agra by railway from some Mahájuns at Calcutta, for conveyance to a branch firm in the city of Jeypore, to where indeed the whole was presently forwarded, laden upon five camels under an escort of ten armed men. The robbers laid their plans accordingly and followed up the convoy. It had reached *Mohunpoora*, the last stage of the journey, in safety (28th November last,) and had alighted for the night in the bazaar, distant only about eight koss or fifteen miles from its destination. During the first watch of that night, that is, at about 10 p.m., the bivouac was approached by a band of twenty-two Meena dacoits, some on foot, others mounted upon camels, who, under the pretence that they were deputed by one *Futtehjee Rhatore*, a well-known Sirdar of

the Jeypore Court, to examine what was under conveyance, impudently eased the convoy of 27,000 rupees of the remittance, and the men of the escort of their arms and personal belongings, and made off! Secret information has now been sent to me by some *Mookhbirs* or informers in the service of the local Durbar, that some Meenas recently arrested in Jeypore on suspicion (of which we had already heard,) really took part in the dacoitie adverted to, instigated to it by the said *Futtehjee Rhatore*, who now, they declared, molested them for telling against the arrested men, and had not only confiscated their property, but had even imprisoned their families. They urge me to act promptly, or that otherwise the prisoners, of whom there are twelve, would be released. The suspicion against *Futtehjee* and his undue influence in the palace, had already become known to me when lately travelling in Jeypore, and it is confirmed, moreover, in a note received to-day from Beynon, who writes "all the opposition possible is brought to work in his favour and to throw dust in my eyes." The names of two of the arrested Meenas, happen, too, to be in our registers as accomplices of approvers in three other recent acts of dacoitie, so I have little doubt of the correctness of the present information (*vide* pp. 31 to 33, vol. i.) *Futtehjee* commands a camel corps in His Highness's service, and those two men belong to it. I have claimed the custody of them both.

"*Mookhbirs*" are intelligencers—givers of *khab-* *Mookh-*
bur or information, as their name implies—and *birs.*

Difference
between
a Mookh-
bir and an
"Ap-
prover."

are commonly employed by native rulers on a system usual in Native States for working out crime. But, though we do not reject their information, knowing as we generally pretty well do, who they are and a great deal about them individually, we do not make use of such persons for the purposes of evidence against others, our more legitimate course being, only to act in that regard, upon *previously* recorded evidence formally given by duly constituted *approvers* such as are employed by us, every one of whom is a convicted dacoit or thug as the case might be, and against whom a sentence of death or transportation beyond seas, or of imprisonment, has been recorded, execution thereof being only suspended during performance of their compact of true and faithful service, and any dereliction therein subjecting them to forfeiture of such exemptions as a condition of their employment. "Approvers" are, moreover, under life-long custody—"Mookhbirs" are not so, but are persons independently employed at the pleasure of the local authorities. They generally nevertheless belong to the criminal classes—and their information, discreetly used, not infrequently leads to the detection of the culprits sought for, and, according to native practice, to their conviction.

Sungram
Sing.

21st June.—A man named *Sungram Sing* has long been notorious in the Jounpore and neighbouring district, as the enterprising headman of some banded *budmaashees* of the *condottiere* sort—a kind of swashbucklers who go about the country with rifles, guns and revolvers, swords and bludgeons,

frightening everyone and helping themselves to whatever they have a mind for—who have long been proclaimed as outlaws and a reward offered for the capture of their daring leader. Some police lately came across a small party of these rebels and exchanged shots with them, but the presence of *Sungram Sing* himself, served to keep off any closer contact. The horse upon which the native police sub-inspector rode, certainly received a bullet-wound of which the animal died—but the opportunity was lost and the outlaw has escaped. (P.S.—He was killed in another encounter in the following year.)

A great gathering at an “at home” this evening, held at Strawberry Hill, the residence of the popular Mr. and Mrs. N. T.

22nd June.—Khundwah, on the line of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, is the station for Indore, one of the Government opium depôts. Remittances from Bombay for the purchase of opium at Indore, are, on arrival at Khundwah, laden upon carts and camels and taken on. On the occasion of a just repeated act of dacoitie in that direction, of date four days ago, the conveyance was a cart. The first stage of the journey from Khundwah had been completed and the consignment was being pushed on, when at a very early hour of the morning, the convoy was assailed a little beyond the village of Desgám short of the Nerbudda River, and robbed of a considerable sum of money. The robbers are stated to have been many. On the previous similar occasion at *Burwai*, on the same line of road, mentioned before (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.,) no escort was

Treasure
Dacoitie
at Desgam
near
Khund-
wah.

in attendance—but in the present case, upon the representations on the subject there was an “escort,” but, of a *single* foot constable only! This was remarkable, considering the very great traffic upon that wild road, the valuable remittances that daily pass along it, and the thick jungle through which it lies. It was something to have gained attention to the requirement; but police protection, if afforded at all, should be more effective. How could the present have been regarded as a “suitable escort”? (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.)

Super-
abun-
dant of
Officers in
the Staff
Corps.

A friend writes on the subject of the “*inundation*” of Field Officers in the three armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, as a consequence of the late Staff Corps and Amalgamation Rules (*vide* pp. 36 and 39 to 42:) “In this amalgamation business, Government have shown themselves like the Romans, ‘without understanding.’ They demur about a few thousand rupees and then incur vast prospective liabilities. The Government of India know well what they are about, the measure was forced upon them by the *Secretary of State* contrary to the advice of his Council—and he carried out the views of the Cabinet. Unless Staff Corps promotion is granted, officers will grumble—and if *it is*, what is to be done with a dozen field officers in a single regiment? A retiring scheme, by which many shall be induced to accept a reduced scale of pensions on earlier retirement, would be the obvious remedy.” (*Vide* pp. 36 to 42, and footnote of concession: officers were eventually allowed to retire on improved allowances.)

23rd June, Sunday.—We were exhorted to-day at church to give freely, liberally, and not to withhold. I remember a venerable Archdeacon preaching at the Cathedral at Bombay, telling the congregation of the difficulty met with in *collecting* the subscriptions promised in the written slips of paper often put into the offertory, his peon or chupprasseec being generally sent away, he said, with *Peeché áô—Kál áô*—and even desired *J—— ko jáô*,—"Come by-and-by," "Come to-morrow"—or, "Go to—" (a place for the wicked !)

The late
Arch-
deacon
Jeffrys.

24th June.—Daly writes that Scindiah now objects to the transfer to us of the two Bedowreah prisoners he lately had agreed to make over—"they are too anxious about their welfare to do this." I can understand this—*they know too much*:—but I am glad of it than otherwise, and have written saying so—"I should have feared their escape and foul play from their confederates" (*vide* p. 64, vol. ii.) Scindiah's marriage festivities under celebration at Gwalior, have hindered progress against the rebels in Bhind, the Soobah or Governor of the district having come away from there to attend the ceremony, as in duty bound.

25th June.—There is still trouble in *Tirhoot* (*vide* p. 450, vol. i.). We have a special report of a fresh act of dacoitie down there. A large gang of armed men provided with lighted torches, burst into a dwelling at Kalloa at midnight, and carried off a lot of property, wounding the owner of the house. The robberies in *Tirhoot*, *Chumpárun*, and other *Terae* districts, have, decidedly, indications of being

Dacoitie
in
Tirhoot.

the deed of practised dacoits. Budhucks are declared to be keeping quiet—but we know that many of them have habitation along that border (*vide* p. 355, vol. i.) Other plunderers infesting the same direction, are *Dôsadhhs*, *Gwâlas*, and *Aheers*. The two latter classes are ostensibly herdsmen, but who, and *Dôsâdhhs* also, often take service in our ranks, and make good soldiers too.

My
Office.

26th June.—My work is interesting and I always take pleasure in it. The advantage of the office is its independence, range, and the ever varying incidents of it. Well has "Competition Wallah" observed in his "Letters," that it was impossible for an Indian official to have any misgivings as to the importance of his work.—"Zeal is the characteristic of the grand service and unquestionably pervades all its members."—We all are impelled with a like desire—each one to do, as all hope, some good in his day and in his generation. It may be a sign of too much complacency, but—*honi soit*. I take it to be the soul of a sense of responsibility, to know more of your work than anyone else, and to be able so to answer respecting it as no other can, or perhaps—can gainsay. The peculiarity of the special duty is—as in all researches into hidden ways—that the more you explore, the more comes to light; and, as of course, that nobody can be the wiser if *nothing* should—suppose of it whatever he may.

I have now to show, in my forwarding Report of Dacoitie Statements for the past three years, the work, little or much, that has been done by the

local police in the suppression of the evil—no enviable task; to go on with the preparation of the similar returns of Thuggee by means of poison; to finally formulate a reply to the objections lately raised to our demand for the extradition, when we should require it, of prisoners in custody in Native States (*vide* p. 114;) and to put together matter for a report on the condition of *Shekawátie*,—in addition to the constantly recurring investigations that centre in my office, the control and direction of our general proceedings in every direction, and the numerous questions that arise therefrom. I do not dislike the duty, difficult and perplexing though it sometimes is.

27th June.—Some rogues have lately been discovered going about “uttering” counterfeit moneys. These people, variously called *Chhápa-bund*, *Khoot-soorrya*, *Kulb-sázee*, etc., not only pass off, but are themselves the coiners of base moneys, as their names signify,⁶ and are very clever in the manufacture thereof. Several of them were arrested by myself when Thuggee officer for the Bombay circle, and my Reports describing their habits were printed and circulated by the Bombay Government (*vide* Bombay Police Selections, 1858.) These swindlers, and sometimes ruffians, generally travel about in the garb of religious mendicants, and are dexterous in passing off their spurious coinage by sleight of hand. I had it tried upon

False
Money
Coiners.

⁶ *Chhápa-bund*—Stamp maker.
Khoot-soorrya—False moulders.
Kulb-sázee—Base die fabricator.

Their
Method.

myself, and I failed to detect the imposture. They form a professional class, and may be met with in the most distant regions. The method they adopt is very simple. The moulds used, of which several were made in my presence, are formed from unslaked lime and a kind of yellow clay variously called *peela muttee*, *gila*, *shédoo*, etc. finely pounded and sifted. This, when moistened and well worked up into a putty, is pressed round about the piece of money to be imitated; the mould thus rudely formed, is then pared all round of superfluous stuff, and is placed within some charcoal embers till it gets baked. It is then taken out, and when cooled enough, its rim is carefully incised all round and the enclosed coin released, leaving an exact impression of both faces of it within the hardened amalgam. The two parts are next joined together with an adhesive stuff, and molten tin poured into the hollow interior of the mould thus formed, through a small aperture deftly drilled through the rim, which when sufficiently cooled is taken out, when, lo! the thing is done—the false money ready to hand—it only remaining to smooth away the metal protruding through the drilled hole, and to rub the piece over with dirt or other colouring substance, whereby to give it the appearance of *being old enough money*; but as the rim of the “Company rupee” cannot, from its being milled or grained, be readily imitated by so rude a contrivance, money coined in our Government mints is not generally used, but native currency preferably. Nor are the moulds usable more than

for once. And with the false money thus easily coined, these people frequent bazaars, or join on to travellers, and, by confidence and other plausible tricks and devices, manage to pass off the spurious ware upon innocent folk coming away from the country markets, and upon the unwary. For the purpose of securer concealment, they stow away the false money thus manufactured, in ingeniously contrived secret pockets, sewn within their *lungotees* or waist-cloths—in *thigh-pockets* as they might be called—but which from their position were not likely to be searched.⁷ But this is not all, for these fellows sometimes cheat with false jewellery also, of which the following was an instance, as reported by me at the time to the Bombay Government. Three suspected individuals transferred to my custody from Ahmednuggur, at a fair in which district a vendor of piece-goods had been murdered, collectively admitted the crime

Murder by
them at a
Fair of a
Dealer
in Piece
Goods.

⁷ P.S.—Upon information of this cunning artifice, search was made for these pockets, and it led to the detection of several of these criminals. A Political Officer in the Southern Mahratta country, wrote to me that he had by such means, discovered “quite a nest of them” practising down there.

Apropos to this subject it may here be added that the Thakoor, I think, of Ummurghur in Kerowlie, who was one of the most determined opponents of the Thuggee Department, and the chief protector of thugs and dacoits, the same individual, I believe, who on our remonstrances was removed from the office of Dewan at the instance of the Agent Governor-General for Rajpootanah (*vide* pp. 354, 355, vol. i.,) was afterwards heavily fined, under the orders of the Government of India, and is still paying towards the mulct, for criminal participation in a regular system of counterfeit coinage carried on under his auspices by a gang discovered a few years ago to be living in his village, and paying him a sort of tax for permission to coin.

when examined by myself; but while one confessed to it circumstantially, with the complicity, he declared, of three others including the other two, the latter denied the imputation; and yet each charged his companions with it to his certain knowledge! The deed was a very atrocious one. The murderers enticed their victim away from his booth in the fair, by showing him a supposed gold necklace of the heavy sort, but which in fact was of gilded brass. They told him that if he would meet them at nightfall at the river-bank hard by, provided with the means to purchase that and some other articles *obtained by them*, they whispered, *by robbery*, he might make a good bargain. The man yielded to the temptation, and repaired to the appointed spot. They presently fell upon him, threw him on the ground, and held him down. He entreated to be spared. No chance of that. With a huge stone they shattered his head. Then appropriating his handkerchief or *roomal*, and the money he had brought with him, they lifted the corpse to the water's edge, fastened the same ponderous stone to it, and flung it into the river in deep water. The body was not recovered, though the man was missed. There was therefore no successful prosecution of the case.

State of
the Law
against
False
Money
Guiners.

Their general inability to imitate money coined in British mints, served these swindlers a turn; for the law against uttering counterfeit money required that the money so uttered, should be counterfeit of the coin of the realm, which the money passed off by them was not: hence, generally,

their immunity from punishment, except they could be sent up for trial on charges of *conspiracy to defraud*. But even this alternative presented the difficulty, that when the facts were proved, as they usually were, they generally constituted robbery and not conspiracy.

The clever rogues exist, as I have said, throughout India, and although varying in castes, their mode of coining is much the same everywhere. In the Punjab, I found the crime to prevail so much, and even the Government rupee to be there imitated, that it was astonishing to observe how much the money in circulation was mutilated in view to test its genuineness. Nor did they confine their operations to current coinage only; for in that province, the practised knaves were in the habit of even imitating *Bactrian* and other ancient coins found in those regions, cleverly passing them off as real, upon even the most learned of collectors of such *curios*. When I was on service in Persia (on Sir James Outram's personal staff,) a proclamation issued from Tehran, was circulated among Persian subjects in the neighbourhood of our camps, warning them to be guarded against the payments to them tendered by us who vaunted to pay so handsomely for our purchases, our money being counterfeit, specimens of which, it declared, had been sent up to the Shah for inspection. Some of the sharpers had probably come up from India among our camp followers, and found opportunity to coin and pass off false Persian money to the country people thronging our camp bazaars with supplies. I

They coin
and pass
off false
Ancient
Coins.

They
accom-
pany our
Camps in
Persia.

brought to notice, too, a paragraph in a London newspaper of the time, purporting to be information transmitted to St. Petersburg by the Russian Minister at the Persian capital, stating that a large quantity of false foreign money had lately been conveyed across the frontier, *coined in India by the employés of the British Government!* All this information, acquired and brought to notice as it was so long back, cannot, I fear, have been promulgated up here, or it is unremembered. To say nothing of congeners such as *Bhúr* robbers, systematized *Sunnowreahs*, and the *Pádsháh-i-Chór* or imperial thief, of whom and *hoc genus omne*, full information and publicity have from time to time been sent out by our department.

Dine at
Peterhoff.
Anecdote
of Right of
Entrée to
Govern-
ment
House.

28th June.—We had the honour of dining last night at Peterhoff in our turn. For everyone on the Government House List is thus distinguished by roster; the exceptions are seldom, as on an occasion, a time back, of the wife of a colonel not receiving any invitation, the latter inquired the cause; the aide-de-camp from whom had issued the invitation cards replied, “he had not received His Excellency’s command to invite Mrs. ———,” whereupon the indignant husband showed that Mrs. ——— had been received at Her Majesty’s drawing room, and soon the amende followed, and the *oversight* gracefully acknowledged.

Sir John
Lawrence.

Sir John on these conventional occasions, which he is said very much to dislike, may generally be seen after the dinner, leaning an elbow on the marble mantelpiece of the withdrawing room,

holding momentous converse with some of the high officers among the guests, brought up to him by an aide-de-camp, or, oftener, beckoned to. I was on the present occasion told off to take in the wife of an absent Victoria Cross officer* with whom I was acquainted before he had become thus famous, and was glad to be able to congratulate him through her. The Mutiny brought out many such gallant fellows.

* The late Major Cochrane, R. M.'s 86th Foot.

A note from Mr. Whitely Stokes, secretary to Mr. Maule the Legislative Member of Council, informs me that the Advocate-General had expressed doubts as to the power of the Indian Government to pass Act I. of 1849. This was a law declaring Politico-Criminal Courts to be duly constituted courts, and to which, indeed, it had been our habit from time to time to commit our thug and dacoit cases for trial. It would be a *fiasco* indeed, if it should now be pronounced that all those trials were illegal!³

Obstruction to Procedure.

Captain Thomas, of the 21st Hussars, who died yesterday, was buried here to-day; and, curiously, I had a letter to-day from home, from my old friend Fred Curtis, who lately commanded that corps and was required to send in his papers (a mandate which, by my advice, he only obeyed *under protest*,) informing me that he had, after an interview with His Royal Highness, been offered the appointment of Assistant Adjutant-General at Lahore by the Duke of Cambridge, but had re-

³ P.S.—Nothing came of the objection. It was overruled, and remained unaffected by the new Penal and Procedure Codes.

spectfully declined. The offer was in a manner a graceful acknowledgment of an undue haste in accepting his resignation on the part of the local military authorities. Restoration would have appeased the offended soldier. He was a very strict disciplinarian, as I am able to say who had served under his command in the Scinde Irregular Horse, and was considered to hold too *tant* a hand over his Hussars. "*Point de zèle* would have served him better," was the observation to me to-day of Sir ———, who knew him in another command; but my friend would rather have died than forego the guiding principle of his career, that "every hour of his life belonged to the service of Her Majesty and for its good." *Transcat in exemplum!*

Lady
Lawrence
"at
Home."

At evening to-day we attended Lady Lawrence's "at home"—where all Simlah was present—the ladies at their best, beautifully apparelled in *confections* direct from Paris, or sent out by the Court milliners of Conduit Street or Piccadilly; and subalterns' wives as well dressed as any. And why not? All are *rank and file* in that regard: there are no distinctive badges among ladies, except, alas! in precedence to the dinner-table. *There*, conservatism is maintained to the bitter end. I remember little Mrs. F—— fainting at beholding a lady of junior (husband) *rank*, being taken to table before herself—the distance to it, through the folding doors, being no more than three paces!

Pre-
cedence.

If it were a question who should bear away the palm of the many who graced the assembly to-night, it would be accorded by acclamation, I

think, to the strikingly handsome Miss M—— D——. Let him win there who can !

29th June.—A letter to-day from a brother at ^{Personal.} home, announcing the death of a dear old relative, revives many recollections of a farm and an old country house in Wiltshire in days long gone by, where we learnt how to shear and pasture sheep, plough and sow corn, make bread, brew, shoot and ride, and were always happy and joyous, in seed-time or in harvest. Seventy-five, and remembering us all too, to the last ! I wonder if there is anyone alive now who cares to call to mind the youthful *Christina Douglas*, playing upon the harp and singing Moore's melodies (then a rage,) before admiring assemblies in the brilliant saloons of Nos. — and — Berkeley Square, where many known to fame would gather to behold and to listen ! It was she who on the very early death of our more beautiful sister, her loved and slightly younger niece and companion, sought solitude and peace in that distant farm-house and eventually married the good man there, who mourning, ever held her memory enshrined in his heart of hearts, and has now at length followed, to lie beside her in her own silent resting-place in that peaceful acre down in the vale where stands the local village church, the attention of passengers to the "little" and "big" two steeples of which—*koochuk* and *buzoorg*, as we would describe them here in India -- would always be directed by the drivers of the old Bath and Bristol Mail coaches running by from London. We were boys then, wont to come down there for

holidays from Johnstone's big school at Hampstead.⁹ The mail coach driver's legend went, that the simple village folk of Bishop's Cannings, not content at beholding the then recently erected church of the neighbouring town, being provided with *two* spires, while their own more ancient edifice should have only *one*, and desirous to emulate it, had the present diminutive steeple there in view, reared at the tower corner of their own place of worship, in the hope that, *by manuring*, it would be persuaded to grow to the same height as the other one, and thus discomfit the men of Devizes!

30th June, Sunday, Simlah.—The morning service at church to-day lasted no longer than three-quarters of an hour, including the sermon, though not the second service.

Simlah
Dinner
Parties.

1st July.—Dinner parties are now frequent—and very pleasant they are—good and sprightly company, well-spread tables, unrivalled *cuisine*, the choicest wines—no Sybarites could fare better than the diners-out of “Simlah in full season.” It is remarkable what excellent cooks the *Mūghs*, brought up here from Calcutta, are; equal to the best of *chefs* if left to themselves and well provided, and keeping sober for the day, albeit of a race who

Mūgh
Cooks.

⁹ P.S.—The late famous Serjeant Ballantyne and his two brothers were our schoolfellows at this place; as were also Mr. Charles Collette of Lincoln's Inn Fields, famed as a “conveyancer,” and his elder brother the late Colonel Henry Collette of H.M.'s 68th. The “Serjeant” was the eldest of the three at Johnstone's school. The second we used to call “Prince Long-nose”; the third, their excellent mother's pet, was the “ugly duck.”

formerly were pirates on the rivers and coasts of Bengal, and who still are great blackguards down at Calcutta and mostly drunkards. They are also excellent confectioners, and a good *Mûgh cook*, such as come up to Simlah in the service of the high officials in the Governor-General's train, can always command good pay—from thirty rupees to seventy-five and even one hundred a month. As to the wines, a wine merchant of Old Burlington ^{Wines.} Street, with whom I am in the habit of dealing, informed me that the *choicest* were sent out, Indian customers being always “such excellent paymasters”!

2nd July.—It had been brought by me to notice some time back (*vide* Journal for 1862,) that in some of the poisoning cases of then recent occurrence, there was reason to believe that the poisoners were returned emigrants from our ocean settle-
 ments, who had either learnt the practice there or
 had acquired it prior to emigration, and had now
 reverted to the crime on their coming back to
 India. It was subsequently ascertained by us, from
 some confessions, notably of one *Bishendyal*, that
 the perpetrators were indeed of the latter category,
 who had sought refuge in our island colonies as
 coolies, from apprehension of arrest for like
 offences already committed in India. There was
 too great alacrity on the part of emigration agents
 at Calcutta, as I informed my good friend Mr.
 Jeffrey of Demerara, in engaging coolies at random
 for shipment to the colonies. It would now seem,
 from a consideration of some subsequent cases

Returned
Emigrants
as
Poisoners.

about to be embodied in the statements under preparation, of the crime of thuggee by means of poison of occurrence during the past three years, that there has been some revival of the practice if it had ever been abandoned. The detected instances were three, viz. :—

A Case at
Benares.

(1) In Benares a man was found lying in a state of unconsciousness near the river-bank. On his coming round some hours subsequently, he stated that he was travelling up from Bengal, and when he had reached a certain *serai* or inn, a short distance from Benares, he was joined by a man of the *Aheer* caste, who proposed to journey with him “as they both were bound in the same direction.” The two crossed the Ganges together by the bridge of boats, and then rested on the opposite bank. Here the first wayfarer requested the other to purchase some *suttoo* or prepared spiced meal, from the stalls there congregated. He came back with some tied up in two lots, of which he gave one to the traveller, and himself ate of the other. Finding it had a bitter taste, the man asked the *Aheer* where he could have “got such stuff from,” and threw what was left of it into the river. He soon began, however, to feel the effects of what he had eaten, *for the suttoo had been drugged*. Led by the other man along the river side, he was next robbed by him and then left in a state of insensibility close to the edge of a field of growing corn.

Another
in the
same
neigh-
bourhood.

(2) About a fortnight later, a man, journeying from Allahabad, was found in another part of the Benares district, lying in a state of partial insen-

sibility by the side of a tank. He was just able to say that he had met a man some little distance back, also calling himself an *Aheer*, at whose hands he had partaken of some *suttoo*, and that, becoming dizzy, he was resting a little, the stranger having gone on ahead. The pseudo Aheer was presently perceived coming back in that direction, who on being arrested and claimed by the other, as his travelling companion, declared he was but a *Pássee* (a low Hindoo caste inhabiting those higher districts and much in the habit of poisoning people in view to robbery,) and his name *Sheodeen*. Recognized also by the victim in the preceding case, and some of the articles robbed on that previous occasion found in his possession, he acknowledged his guilt, said that he was, when taken into custody, returning to see whether the man had become insensible enough to be safely robbed; detailed other similar cases of which he had been guilty, and stated that he was taught how to commit this kind of crime by one *Bishendyal*. Now "*Sheodeen Pássee*" was found in our rolls of registered thug poisoners at large, and the man "*Bishendyal*," a returned emigrant from the *Mauritius* (*vide* p. 139,) had, on conviction of several acts of this crime—one being the murder of his brother by administering *dhatura* mixed up in his bread—been hanged at Benares ¹ (*vide* Journal for 1862.)

¹ Extract from the confession of *Bishendyal*: "I have been in the habit of administering *dhatura* in bread or other food for three or four years. I learnt how to do so at the *Mauritius*, where I worked as a coolie for fourteen years. While on that island I was myself poisoned by a Mahomedan coolie, and robbed by him

Another
Case of
Poisoning
near Sher-
ghôtty.

(3) The third was decidedly an instance of emigrants poisoning their companions when returned to India, and robbing them of their earnings. Having carried the crime to the colonies and practised it there, the miscreants, on coming back to India, reverted to the same means for treacherously depriving their fellow-labourers of the savings they had effected during the exile, of which the following was an example :—

A man was travelling to his home at Sherghôtty on his return from eighteen years of coolie labour in Trinidad. He fell in with two others also just returned to India from the Mauritius. The three travelled together ; all went well for that and the next day ; and at dawn the day after, the party again set out on their journey. It was then that the opportunity was found by the two last comers for drugging the other, and after they had proceeded a little way, for robbing him. He became totally insensible and went about in that condition for the greater part of the day. On recovering his senses at length, he became aware that he was alone and had wandered *quite eighteen miles distant in an opposite direction from their starting-point that morning*, and discovered too, that he had been

of my money and all my things. But I afterwards stole some of his clothes ; and wrapped up among them I discovered some *dhatura powder*. I gave some of it, mixed up in meal, *by way of experiment*, to one of my fellow-coolies who had come with myself to the island. He became insensible ; and becoming thus aware of the effects of dhatoora, I gave it in the same way to others. For I knew other persons who also did so, and I am able to have them apprehended.” Memo.—P.S.—The man *Sheodeen Pássee* was tried, and on conviction sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment.

robbed of his entire hard earnings of the past eighteen years—124 English sovereigns and 990 rupees in Bank of Bengal notes, besides personal clothes and sundry ornaments. The two culprits were traced and arrested about ten days later, and in their possession were found 110 sovereigns, the bank notes for 990 rupees, and the plundered clothes and ornaments. But before the case could be completed *the complainant died of cholera*. The arraigned parties were, however, successfully tried under a section of the Indian Penal Code that met the case, although not in the degree of the punishment they deserved, their sentence being no more than ten years' imprisonment, whereas if the crime had been committed in any of the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, they would, under operation of another more stringent law (Act XXIX. of 1850,) have probably been sentenced to *transportation for life*. I have frequently urged upon the attention of the Government of India, how very desirable it was, for the more effectual suppression of this deadly crime, to extend the territorial scope of that wholesome and very necessary Act to a law *for all India*, for its operation is confined, strangely, to the limits only of the three Presidency towns indicated.* We are, moreover, in our proceedings against professional criminals, unable to obtain any very reliable set of approvers from among them when our choice is restricted to only *limited sentenced men* among those convicted. The man sentenced to death or transportation for life (from execution whereof he is

Proposal
to change
the Law
for the
Suppres-
sion of
Poisoners.

* *Vide* p.
23, vol. i.

Extreme
Sentences
afford
good Ap-
provers.
Limited
sentenced
Men make
indif-
ferent Ap-
provers.

snatched through approvership with us) has everything to be afraid of should he forfeit his conditional pardon ; while he who has been sentenced to anything short of those awards, has no more to fear on forfeiture of approvership, than the prospect of reverting to his original limited sentence, on the expiration of which, too, he can claim his liberation. The latter class of men plainly make bad or, at best, but indifferent approvers.

3rd July.—We gave our second little dinner party last night, and among our guests was my late travelling companion up the hill to Simlah, Captain Noel Money, who commanded the escalading party at the storming of Delhi in 1857, a dashing officer. His promotion has been slow.²

Dinner
Party à la
Russe.

Dinner was served *à la Russe*, a lately introduced fashion now beginning to be followed at Simlah with more or less exactness. *À la rigueur* the plan is, to let the table linen, with the laid-out dessert and decorations upon it, remain to the end, the guests being served with viands from a side table or the side-board, the Khánsamán or butler being entrusted with the carving thereof, a task he generally accomplishes very well, though not with the favour or partiality in the matter of *tit-bits*, hosts and others would perhaps occasionally observe under the time-honoured practice of carving the dishes at table. But for my own part,

² P.S. 1889.—This fine officer had again an opportunity of distinguishing himself, and, as Colonel Money, commanded a brigade, or headed an important command, in the Afghan War. He lately died, after admission to the Order of the Bath as “ Companion.”

I adhere to the good old custom of having the cloth removed at the termination of the dinner courses, thus revealing the glossy mahogany at which we have been seated, and to behold its polished surface mirroring the dessert, decanters, and glass, brought on to it as of old time, when dining-tables were of real oak or mahogany, and not merely *deal boards*, concealed however much they may be with fine and costly linen—for by the new fashion it has indeed come to this! *Our* way is, to strew the dinner-cloth with maiden-hair fern picked the same afternoon from the Jako hill-sides and pleasantly arranged in various formations by our native servants, in designing which they display much taste, pure white statuettes standing out from the fern, little vases adorned with roses and other flowers from the garden loosely placed about, and small open-work silver trays here and there, completing the decorations, hanging Argands shedding light from above, and shaded candles from the walls—no lights anywhere upon the table itself. Dinner over, the ornaments are quickly removed and the cloth twirled up and swiftly slid away by a single successful jerk along the entire length of the table, a feat cleverly accomplished after the manner prevailing at mess tables. Candelabra are next brought on, and dessert arranged from a table where it had already been laid out, and in the centre of the table a large vase is placed, filled solely with glorious wild mountain flowers and leaves, in gathering and arranging which the servant employed is both

clever and artistic, this floral contribution generally forming the feature of a Simlah dinner-table. The servants then retire, and the wine is passed round. It happened that several marble articles ordered by me at the quarries at Mekrána (*vide* p. 104, vol. i.,) had lately been brought up to Simlah and safely delivered, not a flaw or a crack in any of them, although conveyed in the rudest of country carts in use in that wild and distant region, and among them was a very large table slab of the purest white marble. This placed upon a fitting stand at one end of the capacious dining-room, with dessert and all its appurtenances tastefully arrayed upon it in the exact order they are eventually to be disposed upon the dining-table, adds a pleasing effect to the general appearance of the room. As to the rest, we do very much in India as is done at home. All retire to the drawing-room for coffee, followed by music and singing, or making out words from ivory letters promiscuously jumbled together, or to look through portfolios of engravings and pictures, and illustrated books, and sometimes playing word charades and such like, till at length Jánpáns are called for, in which the ladies are conveyed away, accompanied or not by gentlemen afoot or on horseback, and by syces or chuprásees bearing lighted lanterns; then all to bed to rise betimes—the native quarter being hushed long ago and the majestic mountains and deep wooded glens shrouded in the gloom and silence of solemn night, the spangled firmament beyond—

beyond and ever beyond—inspiring awe and adoration.

4th July.—My mind is wholly taken up with these cases of poisoning which I am engaged in examining. Yesterday I went through several bad enough instances of the crime, and to-day the horror has been repeated. I have long laboured to arouse sufficient attention to the heinousness of the horrible evil now become an opprobrium—to its dark and diabolical character! It should seem that because the public mind had been sufficiently horrified with the accounts by which it was first startled, of the deeds of those Thugs who *strangled* their victims, it has become dulled by the surfeit, to the reception of anything, the deed although of similar criminals, milder in *mode* of accomplishment, and less *tragical* in the narration! The cup of horrors having been once so full to the brim, it can sip at nothing not so brimful. Artaxerxes may have been cruelly poisoned, but was not Cæsar treacherously poignarded? So would it be argued! But to bring the matter nearer home and draw the parallel closer, let us put it the other way:—If the victims of *Rush* were barbarously murdered, were *Cooke* and the other poisoned dupes of the man *Palmer*, any the less ruthlessly *killed*? These reflections bring me back to examples of my earliest official acquaintance with this, so regarded, *lesser* or less heinous mode of committing Thuggee. I observed a few days back (*vide* page 119,) that there was an unwillingness on the part of the victims who have recovered

A dis-
tressing
Case.

their senses, to give evidence against the culprits. This is especially the case in the instance of females. They have been returning home from some market town, or proceeding upon some visit when met and accosted by the prisoners, by suffering whom to accompany them they have easily been deluded into partaking of their "sweetmeats," or of their spiced *sultoo*, or idol offerings, and on returning to consciousness only, have become aware of the delusion and their robbery. They will hurry home, and for obvious reasons remain profoundly silent on the subject, and seldom be prevailed upon to speak, much less give information of the mishap, for fear of what might be attributed to them! A brother and sister were returning from a visit to a relative at a distant village. By the way, they were addressed by a wayfarer resting under the shade of a tree, who presently requested to be allowed to accompany them "as he too was going in the same direction." All taking shelter from the heat of mid-day at a running stream, under the shade of some tamarind trees, the stranger produced some sweet stuff, which he declared had formed part of an offering to the local idol, to partake of which being productive of good, "would they not accept some of it—it would give relish to the parched rice they were eating." This was kind of him, and they took and ate some of the proffered thing. Then the three proceeded on their journey. Where she had strayed to the woman "did not know," for both she and her brother had wandered

about unconsciously, different ways. Not till the fourth day did she recover her senses. She hastened to that idol's shrine to worship, and then sped home. The pack bullock she had been riding was gone, her brother was nowhere to be seen, herself robbed. She bid her son go with some friend to search for the missing relative. Up among some hilly ground was found his skull, ribs and mangled remains. Jackals had been beforehand in the search, and had already mostly devoured the murdered man's corpse. This was the deed of a practised poisoner, and he himself narrated the story to me. It was substantiated on inquiries at the scene of it.

But that was only one of several like misdeeds of which he had been guilty. This was another, and shows the extent to which the odious practice may be carried by a set of scoundrels influenced by no restraints, glib of tongue, successful in cajoling, and in a manner able to go about committing it *unpunished*. It is an old story, but will not suffer in the repetition ; and is, moreover, but one of many others of which, in my subsequent wider circle of control, I continually have had sad experience :—The two country brothers of a Sepoy serving in a corps of Native Infantry, then recently returned from field service, set out from their distant native village, to visit and congratulate him. Nearly arrived at the end of their long journey, they were joined by a man come, he said, from a neighbouring place, and “going in the same direction.” At mid-day they sat down

Another
Similar
Instance
of Poison-
ing.

by a well to refresh and eat bread. The stranger hereupon offered them some sweetmeat, "seeming to be sugar," which they accepted and partook of, and presently they went on together. But soon the first two began to get giddy and to stagger about as though intoxicated. One of the two, on coming to his senses the following day, found himself alone, and robbed of all he had possessed. All he remembered was the stranger throwing him down, and disengaging from his person a silver girdle he wore about his waist. The road lay along the coast, and was intersected with creeks influenced by the tide. Floating in one of these a corpse was perceived by a villager later on, as it was being carried out by the ebbing stream. The missing man had walked right on into it and was drowned, and his body taken out to sea by the receding waters. The Sepoy, to visit whom the journey had been projected, brightened at the thought that tidings might yet be received of his lost brother being still alive. His emotion, and the eagerness with which he caught at the idea of his having been seen in the creek, wore painful to witness, as he gave evidence before me at the inquiry—and the despair that overcame him on being told of the improbabilities, was most distressing, when, yielding to the account, and the little hope there was to build upon, he with loud lamentations exclaimed, "Why should he have thought to come all that way to see me—me only—so unworthy!"

Then there was the miserable fate which befell

a family party in my own neighbourhood. One morning the dead bodies of two small boys of six and ten years of age, were discovered in a tank near a village, and exposed near the same spot, were found four other human forms, a man and three women, senseless, but still breathing, one being the mother of the two lads. "Restoratives having been applied" (I quote from my report of it,) "sensation and memory slowly returned, and the victims thus rescued from death, were able, by degrees, to recall the circumstances that had proved fatal to the children and had well nigh hurried them also to eternity." They had been to a neighbouring fair, decked out, as may be supposed, in their family trinkets and holiday garb, and while there were accosted by three *Mahomedans*, perfect strangers, who ingratiated themselves so much in their confidence, by their praises of the two boys, and by their pleasing ways and address, that they were suffered to escort them through the crowded fair, and even to invite them to refection outside of the village. Whatever the females of the party may have thought of their offer to them of money also, as was stated in the local report, certain it was that the whole party were simple enough to accept the invitation without any suspicion: "They all partook of the little feast prepared for them by the gallants—some rice and curry, and fruit and sweetmeats." The rest was but a dream; for, deposed the survivors, they shortly afterwards became insensible. It was found they all had

The Fate
which
befell a
Family
while
travelling.

been drugged., The two boys had also partaken of the tampered food. Of the ornaments all wore, and other possessions, not a trace remained. The assassins escaped detection.

Reflec-
tions.

Were these instances but solitary and incidental cases under strong temptation to commit them, by but unpractised people? Or, as I further inquired, were the perpetrators but raw hands hitherto unsteeped in similar villainy?—"May men so stealthy in their ways, apparently so frank in their manner, and yet so intent upon their purpose, so sure in administering the poisoned potion, the shuffled food, or the drugged *hookah*, be mere novices at the artifice, rather than confirmed offenders? Not only does each case display the dexterity and the artfulness of the pretended *friends* by whom the victims are beguiled, but it is stamped with indications of consummate knavery; while each at the same time lamentably reveals the real simplicity of the deluded sufferers—the horror and terror of the survivors on discovering how they had been victimized—how nearly they, too, had died!"

Cholera at
Simlah.

5th July.—Cholera does not often occur at Simlah, but a child died of it yesterday in our midst, whose mother was dining with us but the other evening!

Dacoitie
in
Tirkoot.

We have a special report of yet another dacoitie down in *Tirkoot*. A woman of the premises went out during the night to ascertain the cause of a noise as of digging, outside of the door. A lot of armed men thereupon rushed in, bearing a lighted torch, and broke into boxes and other usual re-

ceptacles of property. The owner of the house was knocked down in the rush, and he and the Chowkeedar, or night watchman, and three others, were slightly wounded. The robbers got away, however, and with but little booty (*vide* p. 450, vol. i., and 127, vol. ii.)

6th July.—Completed to-day my reply to the protest against the practice of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department requiring the transfer to it of “wanted” men traced to the local jails in Rajpootanah, and claimed by approvers and accomplices in other acts of crime (*vide* pp. 62, 114, vol. ii.) I have gone into the question very fully, not only to show that the evidence upon which such requisitions were made, was reliable, but that the procedure was conformable with law and practice,³

³ P.S.—Act VII. of 1854 regulates the procedure in matters of the arrest and delivering up to the officers of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department of all persons, whether the subjects of the British or any foreign Native Government, charged with thuggee or dacoitie. By this Act doubts and misapprehensions in these matters were removed. The rules on the subject of the apprehension, demand, and surrender of persons so charged, were detailed and summarized in a Report on the Conflict of Laws, for which I had been called upon by the Government of India (*vide* pp. 58, 66 to 70, vol. ii.,—also sections 1 to 8 of Report quoted below)—*par exemple*, thus:—

“Registered Thugs and Dacoits, are, however, always made over to this Department for disposal, by the States of Rajpootanah and of Central India, and by the Nizam and other Native Governments; whenever required. Native chieftains perceive that the only object of the British Government in respect of the proceedings of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department, is the suppression of crimes which they themselves acknowledge to be great evils, and that we know and feel that this can only be effected by their working in concert with us. They have nothing to do but to act negatively, and not a single offender would be forthcoming! The criminals would be as safe from us in the wild hills and

and helped us a great deal in our operations. I have been at some pains in doing so, in order to set clearly before Colonel Eden, the Governor-General's Agent for the States of Rajpootanah, the grounds upon which our demands for such transfers were *bonâ fide* based. It was an object to avoid the obstruction—I might say *check*—to our general proceedings which might otherwise arise from any undue assent being conceded to the Native Durbars raising such objections. At present these are confined, at least outspokenly, to the single Durbar of Jeypore. I have written to Blair to arrange all the enclosures in the order indicated in my Report, so as to assist Eden in considering the subject, and arriving at a correct appreciation of it. It is our proper part to gain the upper hand of the predatory communities infesting Rajpootanah and from there penetrating into remoter regions for the purposes of dacoitie, so as to counteract (inasmuch as is consistent with

jungles of Rajwára and Malwa, Bendeleund and Hyderabad, as in the Khyber and Bolán Passes. In *Rajpootanah*, for example, every State has, at the bidding of the Agent Governor-General, at one time or another surrendered even unregistered offenders, and this could not be effected, as Sir Henry Lawrence justly remarked, under any rigid and unswerving rule. To this I would observe, that, whether registered or not, the habit of the Native States has long been to deliver up *anyone* required by this Department. It cannot, however, be too often repeated, that such requisitions are always made through the several local Political Officers. The existing practice had the approval of the Home Government, and has proved to be most serviceable in its results." (*Extract para. 190 from Colonel Hervey's Report to the Government of India on the Conflict of Laws in reference to the operations of his Department in Native States, No. 199, dated 21st April, 1866.*)

the policy of the British Government* in its relations with Native States,) the influence which so many of the robber leaders possess with the several Durbars, exercised through the Native Durbar officials.

Our present operations have, admittedly, tended to direct a very effectual blow against the hitherto unchecked system pursued by these robbers, and to create an alarm among them which must be productive of beneficial results, and it is therefore natural that they should seek resorts by which to escape the intelligence which we maintain of them, enabling us, as it does, to trace so many of them even to the jails into which they are from time to time cast by their own rulers. It is patent, too, that these people, I here mean *Meenas* more particularly, are the very men by whom the country is oppressed, and at whose hands the community suffer—that they are, in fact, the robbers over whom we have been set to watch, and whom it is our duty to *suppress*; and if there could be any doubt of the integrity of our researches against them, it would be dissolved by considering, as the list I have furnished Eden with shows, *what they were in prison for* when we traced them there; for if they were there, as they all mostly were, and continue to be, *for robbery and other acts of violence and predation*, the result of the local police action against them, we cannot be considered to be far out when we claim them as altogether professional dacoits.⁴

7th July, Sunday.—Heavy rain in the forenoon,

⁴ P.S.—The arrangement was left undisturbed.

and I suppose but few went to church, but the evening service was well attended.

Two Gold-
smiths
Poisoned
in Bengal.

8th July.—The following account was under notice to-day among the cases of poisoning under examination and report. It occurs among those skilfully researched by Mr. Reily in his recent operations in Bengal, in communication with myself (*vide* pp. 38 and 42, vol. i., and p. 1, vol. ii.) He was out in the districts thus engaged, when he was startled one morning at hearing that three men had been poisoned the day before close to where he was inquiring into some other cases. They were brought in upon a cart. One was already dead, another died soon after arrival, the third man recovered. He was a Brahmin, and said he was coming up country, when he fell in, at morning, with some Rajpoots travelling like himself, and later in the day with the two deceased men, both *Souárs* or men of the goldsmith caste, and with *two others*. The Rajpoots by-and-by fell behind, but he himself, the two goldsmiths and the other two, journeyed on together. At evening they alighted near a police station for the night, and it being too late then to cook any food, they satisfied themselves with some *poorrees* or puffs prepared from flour purchased from the local corn dealer, and filled with some spiced meal supplied by the other two men; and this, dressed upon embers, formed their repast, made and eaten separately as by caste enjoined, that is, the Brahmin by himself, the two goldsmiths by themselves, and the other two men together. The

Brahmin not half liking what he had made, did not eat it all up as the Sonars did. And now all he remembered was, his being led by the other two men to the spot where the two goldsmiths were lying, but that he resisted and went onwards till he fell down senseless. He recovered, but his less fortunate fellow victims would seem to have suffered very much when discovered, "the skin on their backs, shoulders and elbows, having been rubbed off from their rolling on the ground in their agony." The case was very cleverly unravelled. Both the culprits were separately arrested, one being traced to his home, and the other as he was escaping into Nipal territory, accompanied by his wife and children. They each accused the other with mixing poison in the *sultoo* or sugared meal, and not only were both recognized by one of the five Rajpoots, the only man of that party who had at all talked to them, but were also distinctly identified by the recovered Brahmin. They were also claimed as accomplices in other similar deeds of villainy, by a man who had shortly previously recorded their complicity with himself in other authenticated cases under Mr. Reily's inquiry, and both were accordingly sentenced to capital punishment, on the ground that "a severe sentence was imperatively called for, in order to check, if possible, the spread of a crime so fatal to society, and so difficult of detection." The Judges of the High Court further added, that "the Detective Superintendent, Mr. Reily, de-
Mr. Reily
com-
mended
for Intel-
ligence.
served great credit for the manner in which he

has dealt with this case, and for the complete chain of evidence which he has obtained under circumstances of so much difficulty."

A great
Dacoitie
traced by
the Smell
of some
Musk.

*This
was the
robbery
alluded
to at p.
94, vol. i.

9th July.—Some years ago the clue to a dacoitie, one personally worked out by myself in a case attended with murder and wounding, at Gudduc, in the Southern Mahratta country,* was gained through some *musk*, an entire pod of which as excised from the deer, happened to be of the articles carried off by the plunderers. The difficulty of proof on that occasion as against the robbers, whom I had traced and arrested with their plunder some two hundred miles distant from the scene of the outrage, lay in the untoward circumstance that the plundered Sahoocar, a man of some substance and an important personage in the rural district where he resided, while admitting *the fact* of the attack upon his house and the outrages committed thereat, yet denied that anything was taken away from it, "except a few household articles," to mention which he supposed was of no material consequence, because any restoration of them was not at all likely to be demanded by his customers. For, as is the custom among Sahoocárs and Mahájuns generally, with whose business that of the *poddár* or assayer of coin and jewellery is combined, this person was also the local pawnbroker, and possessed a large quantity of pledged articles, and his fear was, a *run* upon him for them or for their money value, should it become known that he had been plundered to any extent. But among the few

things which he mentioned to have been really stolen, was included a *musk bag*, which, being his own property, purchased at a high price (for a pouch of that rare commodity is costly, brought down as it is from the pine-covered mountains of Thibet,) he thought it might be incidentally put down among his losses, lest, perchance, *it should be recovered*; so also as to some rupees of a *peculiar currency not often met with*. His dilemma was, however, great when he heard of the *whole* of the plunder, pledged and unpledged, being recovered by me. The smell of musk as my men and I approached the spot, and about the place itself when we suddenly invaded the *tánda* or robber encampment on the outskirts of a distant forest, had been unmistakable; but, in ignorance of any having been taken away, or indeed of what had constituted the plunder, but only of the fact of the deed itself, I took no heed of the circumstance when after capturing the surprised gang, I began to search for their plunder. This we found by digging under their cooking hearths and here and there, the smaller articles of jewellery being discovered stitched within the folds of their old *ruzzáís* or quilts, or on to tattered garments, and the curious money which I have mentioned, stowed away in the *hunníyánees* or waist-purses worn by the leader of the gang and his head man—but *not any musk*, for which indeed we had made no quest. But I was presently advised by a woman of the encampment at variance with *Kunkia*, the naique or leader of the gang, “to search for *kustoori*,” the native name

for a musk-sac ! She was the daughter of an old crone who, her grandson being in my custody, had secretly informed me one early morning when taking my exercise in the open country away from camp, as was my habit, of the particular gang by which the robbery had been committed, and the direction of its flight. I now understood the cause of the peculiar odour which we had perceived, and *for musk* we searched accordingly, and presently we came upon it, and with it upon some articles of previous plunder secreted by the leader. Our finding it and the old-fashioned coinage adverted to, made me quite independent of the testimony of the plundered Sahoocar, in the matter of the property which he had repudiated, but which now he was in great straits about acknowledging. For I promptly sequestered his *wuheels* or ledgers, and in them detected entries, surely enough, *of all the several articles we had recovered !* For, owing to the man's stout persistence that he had *not* been plundered of anything particular, the research and capture on our part—the local police having failed—had been discredited, and even laughed at.⁵

⁵ P.S.—This lucky detection of the dacoity at Gudduc, a place in the Dharwar district, opened out to me all the other exploits of the Khunjur gangs in the Southern Mahratta country, and was the first of my successes against that tribe. In the Gudduc affair several men were killed and wounded by the plunderers. Cholera was raging at the period in the town, most of the inhabitants had fled from it through fear of the fell disease, and the people of the plundered firm and other inhabitants were lying outside of their dwellings, when the gang suddenly appeared, holding flaming torches, armed with spears, their faces tied up,

That having been the *scent* on that previous occasion carried to a successful issue, for I obtained the conviction of the entire gang, of whom two were executed, I will here notice an equally signal *trail* that was now lately taken up and followed by Mr. Reily, with like results, in a case of *poisoning* examined to-day, one of those of occurrence in Bergal, with the investigations of which, I have said, he was specially entrusted under my general guidance (p. 156,) my report and classification of which and of other acts of poisoning throughout British territory, are under preparation.

A scent merchant at Ghazipore, had dispatched a boat-load of rosewater in charge of one of his servants, to Calcutta. A month subsequently the agent at Calcutta sent back the boat with the empty carboys and a tin flask containing some *utter* (or “otto” as it is written and consequently mispronounced at home,) or extract of *leóra*, the *Pandanus odoratissimus*,⁶ a highly scented flower much used in idol worship, and growing profusely in the Lower Provinces, particularly in Orissa ; and this, as a precious commodity, was entrusted to the particular charge of the returning servant. He had designed to travel back with it by the railway journey, but becoming ill while at Calcutta, he proceeded up country in the returning boat as far as Bhaugulpore. He landed there and, accom-

A Poison-
ing Case
detected
through a
Perfume.

and shouting intimidation. They speared everyone who came within reach. The additional consternation thus caused in the locality and round about, was very great. The entire gang was convicted, two were hanged, and the rest sentenced to transportation for life.

⁶ Or, more correctly, the *Andropogon Nurdus*, or Spikenard.

panied by a relative, went on with the intention of accomplishing the rest of the journey by the land route, taking with them the canister of fragrant perfume. They unhappily fell among professional poisoners, a small gang of whom had been infesting the neighbourhood. They had taken away with them the river toll receipt and bill of lading, and the *múnjhee* or boat-master and supercargo, was perplexed on arriving with his freight at his destination (Ghazipore,) at not finding them already there. Two dead bodies were, a few days after the men had left the boat, discovered in the adjacent open country near a railway station, and upon one of them were found *the receipts of the toll collectors*. They were thereupon identified as the corpses of the two men who had quitted the boat; but beyond the further information that they had charge of a metal *kooppee* or flask containing a perfume when they left the river, nothing more was ascertained of the circumstances, notwithstanding the offer of a reward for information. It happened, however, that one of the persons arrested seven months subsequently in the poisoning case of the three travellers (two goldsmiths and another,) lately narrated by me, one of the two men afterwards executed for it (*vide* pp. 156, 157,) had included in his confessions the names of two persons as the accomplices in other acts of the crime, of his companion, the other subsequently executed convict; and as, on inquiry, it was ascertained that those two persons had been previously charged with drugging travellers, the arrest of

one of them was effected a month subsequently, and on his being identified and claimed, not only by that confessing convict, but independently by two others of his accomplices then also in custody, he also confessed and narrated the details of *twelve* different acts of poisoning travellers in which he had taken part, *the present case being one of the number*; and of this particular instance he stated that it was committed by himself and three others at the period indicated. They had met the two travellers at a bazaar on the way to the railway station; one of their number joined himself to them. On arriving near a bridge on the way, the three together rested there, and having bathed, some *sulloo* or spiced meal (previously drugged,) was produced by the deputed accomplice and offered to the travellers—they partook of it, and then all together proceeded onwards. Arrived about a mile distant from the railway station from where they would have gone on to Ghazipore, both men lay down insensible; their money, “*a tin flask containing some utter of keora* (spikenard,) which they were conveying,” and some few other things, were taken possession of, the bodies left where they were, and the gang for the present dispersed. On examination here-upon, of the local police record of the occasion, not only were these circumstances confirmed, but it was ascertained that the Civil Surgeon of the district had recorded his opinion that the deceased *had been poisoned*. He could not, I think, have declared that death had ensued from *datoora*, the poison used, that being a vegetable poison and not trace-

able in the system after death ; nor could he, with any certainty, have spoken to the same end from any diagnosis of the case ascertained before death, for it was not in evidence whether the two deceased men were seen by any other persons while suffering from the effects of the drug administered to them ; but that circumstance was immaterial to the evidence grasped by the clue of *the flask of perfume*, for on the man's confession being thus corroborated by the local record of the case, a diligent search was instituted for the principal culprit—for him who had administered the poisoned meal—and he fortunately was not far off. The detectives appeared two days subsequently at his house in a village in that neighbourhood. He was not there, but it was searched in the presence, amongst other local residents, of the absentee's father, who was even the land-holder or *zumeendar* of the village, when, lo ! hidden away among a lot of *ooples* or fuel of dried cow-dung stacked in a small room, was discovered *the searched-for flask, and in it was some utter of keora !* The culprit himself was next traced, and arrested the following day at Bhaugulpore ; another of the denounced accomplices two days after at Monghyr, and the fourth or remaining accomplice, about a fortnight later down in Rajmelál. The account books of the scent merchant who had dispatched the essence from Calcutta, also duly exhibited entries respecting it, and by whose hands he had sent it ; and both he and the boatman, moreover, recognized the recovered flask. Another of the arrested parties

was also admitted as evidence in the case, and both he and the previous informant, separately and identically, pointed out the spot where they declared they had plundered and left the two prostrate travellers; and lastly, the local police proved that their dead bodies were found at that spot. Thus the evidence was most complete, the finding of the tin flask of perfume in the house of the man charged with administering the drug, being an essential corroboration of the testimony of the original witness as respecting him particularly. The case was tried in the Court of the District judge—the chief culprit was capitally convicted; another was sentenced to transportation for life; the village zumeendar, father of the first prisoner, was adjudged imprisonment for three years; the other two members of that particular gang being the two persons admitted as Queen's evidence. The inquiry was admirably conducted by Mr. Reily, and the judges of the High Court at Calcutta confirmed the convictions.

10th July.—Of those who dined with us last night, was Colonel Vaughan, C.B., one of the heroes of the late Umbeylah campaign, and a right bit of stuff for it, as the occasion proved. Our lad, to whom he has taken a fancy, went up to-day for the Higher Standard Examination in Hindostani, in passing which he had not succeeded at Bombay last November, and he was now again ignobly plucked. He did not sit down to the study persistently enough, and now the boy looks upon it that Hindostani has given him some mortal

Colonel
Vaughan,
C.B.

Hugh is
Plucked.

offence : " I will never go up in it again. I have done with Hindostani." But will that pay?

Escape of
some
Mool-
tanee
Prisoners:
Sirreeram
of Jalnah.

11th July.—I write to-day to Ward at Jalnah of the escape of some Mooltanee dacoits from the local police, while under escort to himself from Khandeish, and to endeavour to discover the reported arrest " somewhere in the Deccan " of the notorious *Sirreeram Shroff*, banker of Jalnah and dacoit confederate, a fellow who used to hang about Captain Davies, my former assistant for those parts, and whom I had met down there in my mail cart journey through Nandgam, when travelling about a time back (*vide* p. 197, vol. i.,) in quest of information (successfully followed up) of some plunderers from Rajpootanah concerned in a then recent act of dacoitie in Berar.⁷ We scarcely knew each other then, but are better acquainted now, and Sirreeram would buy me over if nothing worse. He was an abettor also in the forcible rescue, by Kishen Sing Rhatore, of Ward's four prisoners last November.

Khai-
karees.

I tell Ward, too, to have an eye on the doings of the Khaikaree people in his direction, who are reported from Bombay to be up and doing a little dacoitie again over his border, and in Madras territory and Mysore. where, styled *Korwees* and

⁷ P.S.—I traced four of the gang on that occasion to the Poonah Jail, in which they had meanwhile been incarcerated for a dacoitie at *Mullad* down Suttarah ; on whose transfer thereupon to our custody, the above and other acts of dacoitie became divulged. The man *Jowahirra Durzee*, who afterwards was one of those rescued from Captain Ward's lock-up at Jalnah, was one of the number.

Korwurroos, etc., they had ever before been busy (*vide* pp. 347, 350, vol. i., and p. 73, vol. ii.)

I also write to him, "I am about to transfer some Khunjur approvers to you, through whom to look about after the gangs lately formed by *Jám Sing* and by *Grassia's daughter*. The latter used occasionally to come to Jubbulpore when I was there to see what we were doing against their tribe." *Jám Sing* was the son of Kunkia Naique, approver, the leader of the gang that committed the *musk dacoitie* lately adverted to (page 158.) He was quite a lad when I arrested that gang; and on his growing up, with a view to reclaim him I admitted him into my Nujjeeb Force, the custodians of our approvers on command duties of pursuit and arrest; but he was too restless and always "must to the greenwood go," and, true to his instincts, and eager to emulate his father's exploits, much as the latter, as I must say for him, had endeavoured to dissuade him from the purpose, he flew to the jungles the moment I discharged him, for I had no legal authority for holding him in restraint, and soon rejoined his people in acts of predation and became the companion of thieves, trying his hand at first at horse-stealing and in midnight adventures in camps and fairs, till now at length he has got a gang of his own! The father of the other—the girl—was, as I have had occasion to notice, one of my best approvers. A fine, noble fellow was *Grassia*, although a dacoit—some of whose exploits I have occasionally alluded to. He was the leader of the gang in the *dacoitie* upon the

premises of the wealthy tobaccoist situated inside of the walled town of Sholapore before mentioned (*vide* p. 107, vol. ii.,) his latest and last feat being, the following year, at *Gokák* in the Belgaum Col-lectorate. He died, as I have noticed, of cholera while out on command duty (*vide* p. 107.) His wife, of fine presence and masculine gait, came to me with her three children, a girl and two boys, directly she was told of the event, tore off her necklace and exclaimed: "There—I am a widow (*rând-moondh*;) I may now go where I please." Then, falling on her knees, she placed her right hand on the heads of her sons in turn—a form of solemn oath among Hindoos, as inviolable as the Israelitish habit of protesting by one's loins when invoked—and swore they should follow their father's profession; and their sister, taking her daughter by the hand, shall look after them, take care of them—and, as if of foreknowledge aware of their probable incapacity, "should even take their place and herself lead them as *Tumbólin* did" (*vide* p. 101.) They all bodily left the place soon after, but Grassia's daughter occasionally showed herself. Her brothers turned out, surely enough, of weak intellect, and could take no better part in the lawless career of the tribe, than in cutting away horses from their pickets at night, or such minor acts of night stealth. Their sister grew up a fine, well-knit woman, of no particular good looks, but of imposing aspect. She remains unmarried, her deceased mother's last injunctions having, it is said, been, "Look after your brothers; you will save enough to do there."

[*Postscriptum*.—To run on with the narrative, I would here introduce, even at the risk of a little repetition, the following story of *Grassia's daughter* and of her implacable cousin *Chambelee* and her husband *Oomrao*, as taken from the account submitted by me of this enterprising robber tribe in a Report to the Government of India of a subsequent date : “ The habits of the Khunjur dacoits as highwaymen and footpads, have been often before described in my reports. The present bands are composed of the descendants of those old gangs of the tribe, so many members of which were brought to trial by this Department, and executed or sent beyond the seas, in its operations against this people in various remote parts of the country, their depredations formerly extending from Patna in Bengal to the Southern Mahratta country and the Madras Presidency, Guzerat and Kattyawár. Some of the leaders of the present gangs are the sons of deceased approvers, and one gang is under the leadership of the daughter of an approver of the tribe named *Grassia*, who was himself a most enterprising leader, who used to conduct his gang from Hindostán to Southern India, and there undertake and carry out many daring exploits. Seized at length, with several of his gang in the Sattarah Districts, he became one of my most useful approvers when I was the assistant of the Department for the Bombay territories. But when he died, which was of cholera when out on command duty, his widow, on presenting herself to me with her children—a girl and two boys—to announce her intention to return to her people in the jungles,

The Story
of
Grassia's
Daughter
and her
Cousin
*Chum-
bélee*.

assured me (tearing off her necklace as she did so to signify at once her widowhood and her determination,) that it was *not possible* for them to follow any other vocation than that of their father, now that he was no longer, nor herself, the bond-servants of Government—that they had his deeds to emulate, and it should be her care to bring them up to do so. I met them some years subsequently in the jungles, when travelling in Central India. They were accompanied by *Oomrao*, the now grown-up son of another dacoit of the tribe, who had, with another robber (the same young man's *uncle*,) been hanged at Dharwar, on a cominital by myself for trial for some atrocious dacoities attended with murder in the Southern Mahratta country (*vide* p. 435, vol. i.) All were then 'learning the trade,' but at present were 'only stealing horses from their pickets at night'; they had not yet turned their hands to *dacoitie*, but would now soon do so. The girl, now become a fine young woman of a stern and commanding appearance, informed me of the promise exacted from her by her now stricken mother, *never to marry*, and to lead the gang as another famous woman of the tribe, named *Tumbolin*, had done (*vide* pp. 101-112,) the traditions of whose achievements formed the burden of the camp songs of this gipsy people. Her two brothers were to be subject to her and do as she should bid them. I once again met them. The mother was now dead, and a small gang had been formed—'but we have not yet done anything very particular, you shall hear of us in good time'—and she

warned me to try neither to prevent nor reclaim her ; significantly adding, ‘ we have only stolen a few horses *and robbed a sahib as he slept in his tent.*’ But *Oomrao*, the young son of the executed dacoit above adverted to, had meantime married her beautiful cousin *Chumbêlee*, and she had been abducted by *Amín*, the powerful leader of a gang of the tribe infesting *Punnah* territory in the direction of *Rewah*, who had himself been often in our custody, but had as often been released for want of sufficient evidence. He warned *Oomrao* to abstain, at the peril of his life, from endeavouring to trace or recover his wife, or to visit his gang, *for that, being related to approvers (Góindahs, i.e., tell-tales as these were contemptuously called,) he would murder him.* The incensed young dacoit resorted to me. He contrived to meet me by appointment or as he chose, in my frequent early rides or excursions in the open country, and he laid bare to me what the tribe was now about. All had reverted to dacoitie ; new gangs had been formed ; they were most busy in plundering opium and other convoys of goods and merchandise passing to and from Bombay and Indore ; he had himself taken part in some of these robberies ; with the old members of the tribe had passed away the fear which had been inspired by the former operations of this Department against them, while the traditions of their past exploits still animated them and were the pride, as they were the song, of the new generation ; *Grassia’s daughter* was indeed the leader of a gang, and she was in Berar with her

●

two brothers ; *if I would only get him back his wife,* he would assist me in renewing operations against his people, and would himself also submit to the ordeal imposed by the Department of being tried for his life. For now indeed there remained no members of the former gangs who were the accomplices of our old Khunjur approvers who had not either been captured or had died, *and new approvers were therefore necessary to carry on with.* I assented, and eventually succeeded, with the assistance through the local Durbar, of the Political Officer of the territory (the late Major Willoughby Osborne,) in recovering possession from *Amán* of the young man's wife. She was reluctant to return to him, *because, as the wife of an odious 'approver,'* as she would now be, she would not have the dresses, the ornaments, nor the forest freedom and amusements she would otherwise enjoy—and she endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose of assisting me, first by entreaties (which much exercised him,) and then by taunting him as a despicable traitor. But he abided by his promises, and, surrendering himself to me, recounted a narrative of his own criminal career. It stood the tests to which it was put by us in accordance with the practice of the Department over which I preside. The dacoities which he enumerated in it were found to have been actually committed, exactly in the manner he had narrated them ; the attendant circumstances were supported by collateral proofs ; the persons he named as his accomplices, were discovered really to exist and to

be the sons or relatives (the most of whom had been convicted dacoits,) of former gangs of the same tribe ; some of them were, too, in custody in different parts of the country under suspicion of dacoitie, and one small gang had even recently been convicted in the Court at Indore of the Agent of the Governor-General for the Central India States, *of a dacoitie in which he, Oomrao, was himself concerned*, and sentenced to short periods of imprisonment. On my obtaining access to some of these persons, I found that two of the number were the run-away sons of an old dacoit approver of the tribe, named *Kokátee*, whom I had myself seized and, after conviction, had admitted to approvership some years back in the Southern Mahratta country, when I was Assistant General-Superintendent at Belgaum. They and one or two others at once also confessed to me, and confirmed Oomrao in those acts of the crime in which they had taken part with him. *In this manner were the present operations renewed by us against the new gangs of this enterprising race of born robbers.* The proceedings against them in the period under report, are in continuation of what had been effected by us in that which preceded it, of which an account was submitted in my report of March, 1865 (*No. 224, para. 7.*) *Chumbélee* died very soon after the above events ; but *Amán* is still alive, at large, and full of wrath ; and *Grassia's* daughter still retains her gang. She has felt herself restrained for a time by the revelations of *Oomrao*.”^a (*Vide Colonel*

^a PP.S.—As pertinent to the occasion, I would here recount

Hervey's Report to the Foreign Office, No. 116A, dated 30th November, 1869, para. 22.)

Memo.—This particular gang, and Khunjurs generally, of whom one named *Jám Sing*, the irclaimable son of an old and zealous approver named *Kunkia* (*vide pp. 158-59,*) again cropped up in Berar, where my assistant, Major W. G. Ward, subsequently had a great deal to say to them and sternly to handle them.⁹ Of Oomrao it may here be added

what I had said on the same subject at a previous date in reporting on the habits of the *Khunjur* dacoits, commonly called *Sánsyas* : “Seldom detected in acts of dacoitie, and if detected and peradventure convicted, having every inducement to submit in silence to the comparatively slight imprisonment awarded them, from their knowing that their families would meantime be faithfully maintained by the rest of the tribe, these robbers continue to flourish with impunity. That caitiff is not half a robber, in the estimation of his people, who should be unable to submit to a few years of incarceration without breaking faith with his tribe. The girls of a colony will shun him for a husband who has not already shown that he can baffle the inquiries put to him by the shrewdest policeman, let him cross-question him ever so cleverly. A young married man of the tribe, who, weary of the enterpriseless life at our reformatory at Jubbulpore, had joined a colony now in Bendlekund, with the fullest intention of never conforming with the habits of his connections at Jubbulpore as approvers, whom he despised, was nevertheless at once deprived of his wife—with her own free consent as she has since informed me—his child murdered, and himself turned adrift with a threat of being killed should he ever dare to show himself among them again.” (*Report of Major Charles Hervey, General Superintendent, to E. C. Bayley, Esq. (the late Sir Edward Olive Bayley,) Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 566, dated 17th July, 1861, paragraph 26.*

⁹ P.S.—I left the following memorandum of this incorrigible fellow when I vacated office : “*Jám Sing* was a small boy at the time of the capture of his father, Approver *Kunkia Khunjur*, for the dacoitie at *Guddue* in the Dharwár district (*vide p. 158, footnote p. 160.*) I put him to school, by-and-by took him out *shikáring* with me, and, when he was old enough, made a *Nujeeb* of him, had him drilled, etc. But as he grew older he became un-

that, on the expiration of the sentence 'of ten years' imprisonment, he was, although serving meanwhile as an approver, set at liberty, the local political authority considering it was not competent to him to try him on the customary general charge, as was desired by the Special Department in view to his continued custody as an approver in accordance with departmental precedent. His previous trial had been on a specific charge only, and *it formed no part of the declined "general charge."* Oomrao did not, however, wish to be released, and requested he might be restored to approvership, being quite willing to undergo the ordeal of trial and sentence on the general charge, "as he was afraid of the vengeance of his people." It was said, however, after he was set at liberty, that he was *borne away backward* and had reverted to dacoitie.

12th July, Simlah.—We had a decision at last in the *Scot-Jervis* court-martial case, a telegram from home announcing that the Secretary of State for War had resisted in the House of Commons the call for the production of the proceedings in that

Result
of the
Scot-
Jervis
Court-
Martial.

steady and quarrelsome, and was constantly desirous to rejoin his people. His instincts revived, and both he and his younger brother went off to the jungles. He was occasionally heard of by the Department—first as a progressing thief and robber. He and his brother were next ascertained to *have enrolled themselves in the Berar Police*. Discovered in shielding their brethren, who were engaged in crime round about, and in other corrupt practices, both fled. Jám Sing was next imprisoned at Jalnah for stealing a horse. By-and-by both he and his brother were taken up for robbing the mail in Indore, and imprisoned; and then at length they came into the custody of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department at Jalnah. Both were subsequently released, the evidence not being regarded complete enough for their conviction in a trial. More will yet be heard of these two persons."

remarkable trial, and that the dismissal of Jervis from the Service had been finally confirmed, but that in consideration of the recommendation of the Court, he would be paid the value of his commission, 1800*l*.

Pensions
granted to
the
Families
of our
murdered
Men.

The Government of India have acceded to my application for a compassionate allowance for life to the widows of our five unfortunate fellows who fell into the hands of Gujjadhur Sing's banditti, and were cruelly murdered last December, and cast into the Chumbul near Kerowlic (*vide* p. 66, vol. ii.) It is nothing to be murdered, for that is soon over, but it is lasting to be starved by slow degrees. A deaf ear is never turned to such appeals in India, and the Government of India is ever foremost to listen to them with "a tear for pity, and a hand for melting charity."

A Concert-
Play.

We were at a concert-cum-play at night, a very full house of a mixed nature. The extravaganza was well got up, but the actors scarcely knew their parts, and thus many clever *hits* were lost to the audience. Amateurs are often an affected lot. They assume an indifference as to each other, very inconsistent with the interests of the *mutual reliance society* in which they enlist. If the ladies fall out at rehearsals they take to curtsying low to each other, while male members of the company look at one another contemptuously—"poor devil that thou art!"

13th July. —To prevent approvers from writing to others to speak tenderly of associates with whom they are about to be confronted, and whom they are

desirous to shield, and having a suspicion that way in some recent cases, I mention it to assistants, and desire them to require all letters through the Post Office addressed to approvers, to be delivered to themselves, such persons not being free agents, but convicts under custody : “ Your attention is also drawn to the necessity of taking care that approvers shall not learn the names of the persons about whom they are likely to be examined, or with whom they are about to be confronted, before they are put to that test.”

Precan-
tions
against
Partial
Evidence.

I pay my respects to two ladies arrived from Rajpootanah on suffered leave. I am so hospitably received at the seldom occurring and distantly situated stations I pass through when travelling in Central India, Rajpootanah, and remote Guzerat, all more or less *ab orbe divisos*, that it is quite a pleasure to meet kind faces from there come up to see the world. The half-holiday of the day was further availed of, by our going down to Anandale to see Hugh at cricket and riding in some hurdle races, in both of which he acquitted himself.

Lady
Visitors
to Simlah

14th July, Sunday.—The Calcutta Charitable Institution was the theme in the discourse to-day of our excellent minister. Cholera flying about among the hill people inhabiting the interior mountains.

Cholera
in the
Interior.

15th July.—Ah ! ah ! we have one at least of Ward’s four rescued prisoners once more in custody, Jowahirra himself ! The capture was effected in Khandeish, so now we shall very soon

Recapture
of a
Rescued
Prisoner.

know all about that mystery. I hope to be able to make capital out of that rescue event—untoward though it was—to be led up to fresh gangs by the fresh information we shall get.

Attempt
to resist
Arrest.

Other good news to-day, comes from our detectives at Jeypore watching the progress of the great *Mohunpoora* dacoitie case lately mentioned (*vide* p. 121, vol. ii.) They caught sight in the *Jôhurree Bazaar*, a principal street in that city, of a man in their warrant named *Shecodeen Meena*. He fled, but was chased and captured, whereupon they were suddenly resisted by several men of the local camel *Rissalah*, of which he was a member, who demanded his release. He had lately been taken into that corps, it being chiefly composed of his fellow tribesmen, the command of it being held by *Futtehjee Bhatore*, the Rajah's favourite now charged with procuring that dacoitie (*vide* p. 123.) Our men declined to give up their prisoner, and there was about to be an attempt to rescue him and a street row, when the Durbar Chupprasseo attached to the detectives, advised the camel Sowars to desist, the arresting party being, he warned them, the employés of the British Government. Whereupon they dispersed, and the prisoner was retained. He happens to be of the number the local *mookh'irs* had already denounced as accomplices in the dacoitie mentioned. Two also of the men under local arrest for the same affair, have further been recognized by our fellows as their accomplices in three previous heavy dacoities, as previously recorded against them—two cases

against one, and one case against the other. I have claimed their transfer to us in the event of their acquittal of the crime for which they are in custody.

16th July.—A doubtful case of “Thuggee” has cropped up to-day among those under examination for report; for, from the information as yet received of it, I do not know where to classify the occurrence. According to the special report received by us, the life taken—of a young female twenty years of age—was effected “in the old professional way with the *roomûl* or waist-cloth.” The body was found concealed in a hollow close outside of a village near Lahore, where the deceased had resided with her parents. The poor girl had left the dwelling for a little while the previous evening at nightfall—not an unusual thing to do—wearing her usual ornaments, and on her not returning within the usual time, the consternation in the household was great. The ornaments she wore were not upon the dead body when discovered at morning. Suspicion attached to a male relative who was known to have had *liaisons* with other members of the family, and was regarded to harbour similar intentions with respect to her. The village headmen, however, believed she had been murdered by some of the people returning by the village that night from a neighbouring *mêla* or fair, and in this belief the poor girl’s parents shared. The local magisterial officer, too, stated that “he did not think there was much ground for regarding this to be a case of professional Thuggee.” But

A young
Girl
Poisoned.

if "Thuggee" is to way-lay, beguile, strangle, or poison, slay and rob, the present would, in such sense, be a case of it. The local police inquiries, however, have led to no further knowledge of the circumstances, and I mark it off as a case not "for the present" to be so included.

"Gus-
pácheo."

17th July.—At our dinner party last night the soup served was *Guspácheo* (perhaps more correctly written Guipuscoa, a place in the province of Biscay,) a kind of liquid salad of Spanish invention, which when we were at Jubbulpore, used to be much relished by our guests in sultry weather. It slakes thirst, and creates healthy appetite. I would improve on our ordinary *menus*, and as it is a simple and wholesome dish to lead off dinner with, I here describe how to put it into takeable form. The Khansáman is instructed to have ready, close upon the dinner-hour, a table-spoonful of small onions and a few green chillies, both finely chopped, some cucumber pared close to the heart and sprinkled with salt, and some sliced raw tomatoes, all separately ready to hand. Just before the company arrives I mix these together, adding a table-spoonful of pure Italian olive oil, and of good Taragon vinegar, and of salt a salt-spoonful for each guest, and just before serving I throw in two tumblers of iced water, and over all some pulled bread-crumbs carefully toasted, or crisply toasted bread-crusts cut into small squares. There is also the ordinary soup for those who adhere to that steaming fluid, but I commend our *potage* as the proper *correctif* for hot weather, and

more consistent too, with the cooled drinks that follow suit. There is then no complaining at your cook for spoiling his own reeking decoction, or with yourself for taking any of it, nor any weary wakefulness during the night, or any fevered brow at morning, nor, as I will vouch for, any interior discomfort or bemoanings.

We hear of two cases of river dacoitie, both on the same night, in Bagirhaut of Bengal. The gang in one of them, is looked upon to be the same that committed a dacoitie upon a house in the same sub-division six months earlier. That particular part of the country abounds with creeks and rivulets, the villages are situated in the jungle and far between, and the boats used by the dacoits are light and swift, enabling them to row rapidly from place to place, and as rapidly to escape from the ill-constructed police guard boats. The robbers on these occasions, are generally armed only *with their paddles*, and some few occasionally with *lâthees* (cudgels or bludgeons,) but they seldom meet with any resistance from the timid people whom they are in the habit of plundering.¹

Desirous to facilitate the progress of the "Mohunpoora" dacoitie case now under trial at Jeypore (*vide* pp. 122, 178, vol. ii.) I have, in order to lead to an easy understanding of it, to-day

¹ P.S.—In one of the river cases there were no arrests; in the other one, on the property of one *Môdhoo-sundun Shâ* (10th July,) nine arrested persons were set at liberty; and in a case earlier in the year (10th January,) of fourteen persons taken up twelve were released and two returned as convicted, sentences not communicated.

translated the whole of the original information respecting it, as it reached me, and from the vernacular record have written out a detailed narrative of the action taken thereupon, for future use, it being convenient to have such matters ready to hand *in English*, the vernacular papers, though full of every detail, being too numerous and too irksome for *others* to wade through, or, owing to their complexities, either readily or satisfactorily to research or sift; but this kind of thing is laborious, single-handed.

Dacoits
Tracked
by the
Fashion
of their
Shoes.

18th July.—I noticed of a mail robbery, and another act of plunder of occurrence a few nights subsequently, both near Dhoolia in Khandeish (*vide* pp. 341 and 347, vol. i.,) that by their *shoe-prints*, it seemed the perpetrators on both occasions were up-country men, and probably belonged to one and the same gang, also that I had directed the recapture of two persons who, *ex pede Herculem*, arrested on suspicion *by their shoes*, had been irregularly released (*vide* p. 347.) We are in luck; for not only has one of those two men, the one I more particularly suspected and wanted, been fortunately found, but he turns out to be, as I thought, *identical with Oodah Rhatore, one of the rescued four*; and not only that, but through him the recapture of the notorious *Jowahirra*, another of the *Jálnah* fugitives (*vide* footnote p. 166, vol. ii.,) has also been effected (*vide* p. 177.) Oodah has made many admissions, short only of his own complicity and of his being one of those rescued ones, and that is how we have come round him—by affecting

Recapture
of Oodah,
one of the
four
rescued
Men.

to believe him, and so utilizing his information in discovering the other man ! We are greatly indebted to the local Bheel Police and its energetic Superintendent, Captain Oliver Probyn, an old acquaintance, for this important reprisal. I have mentioned their prompt action in the *Sowndha* dacoitie case (p. 199, vol. i.,) and I would here say something of this excellent body of men. To the gallant *Outram*, my earliest friend and patron, is due the merit of withdrawing them and their kinsfolk from their lawless habits. The Bheels of Khandeish were looked upon as hopelessly untamable savages. He went in single-handed among them, took part in their sports and exercises, joyed and sorrowed with them, and awed them by his feats of prowess in facing tigers and other wild beasts infesting their intricate fastnesses, excelling their own daring fearlessness in such pursuits: nor did he hold back from witnessing with the same undismay, but with kindled pity, their demoniac orgies on occasions of the “mysteries” of their chiefest festivals—exhibitions which were truly awful. Permitted at length by Government—long stirred by their excesses, but never able efficiently to quell them—to enrol and discipline a body of the mad lot, the “Khandeish Bheel Corps” soon acquired a reputation under his popular leadership, which placed it for efficiency and dash among the best of our partisan levies,² and, under the

Captain
Oliver
Probyn.

The
Khandeish
Bheel
Corps :
Outram.

² P.S.—The following extract is here added on this subject, from a notice of Outram’s career published by the *Calcutta Englishman*, on the morning of the ceremony of unveiling that hero’s beautiful statue at Calcutta, by Lord Napier of Magdala, in the

same judicious treatment pursued by Outram, and reclaimed at great trouble and expense from their wild and predatory state, they now present a compact body of armed retainers, with a high feeling of attachment to the service, invaluable as a police admirably suited to the requirements of the country inhabited by the tribe, and co-aapt with and acceptable to the wild race which they represent.

Arrest of
some
Gwalior
Outlaws.

19th July.—Am right glad to hear from Moona Sing, the duffedar specially appointed to the duty (*vide* p. 382, vol. i.) that he had arrested some of the banditti concerned in the murder of our poor

presence of the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and of the troops of the garrison of Fort William and a vast concourse of the inhabitants of the city, European and Native, the authorship of which I may now avow:—"The untameable Bheels of the Vindya and Sâtpoora ranges, ravage the country and rush back to their impenetrable fastnesses, unpunished; and who will trust himself among the savages? Season after season beholds every military expedition failing to subjugate them. The indecisive chastisement inflicted, but tempers them to further resistance and fresher raids; and the Bombay Government despair ever to reclaim or to reconcile them. *Outram* goes merrily in among them to hunt with them in their wilds; slays their most dreaded beasts, and *chaffs* them. They witness his prowess, are awe-struck by his mien and daring, and, charmed by his address, they offer him allegiance. They regard him as an *Avatar*, and gather to celebrate in his presence the orgies of *Gummud Leo* (their god of pleasure,) extemporizing for their symbol of the worship, a large stone which had for ages mysteriously, as it seemed to them, lain at the bottom of one of their wildest ravines, and upon which *he* had stood while waiting, unattended, for the beat they were driving down upon him. Or, is a wounded tiger at bay in his den, and rockets fail to turn him out? At a moment's thought, *Outram* rushes in upon the beast, to the dismay of the wild men, thrusts his rifle into the monster's distended mouth, and slays him. The Bheels are turned into a corps of riflemen, and, with *Captain Outram* at their head, they restore tranquillity, to the region within the scope of their raids, and to this day are the smartest of our police train-bands."—(*Calcutta Englishman*, 23rd May, 1874.)

fellows in the Dholepoor jungles last December, *Oomrao Sing* being one of them.

Some Madras men have just been detained on suspicion, while working their way across to the Southern Concan on the Bombay side, who declare themselves to be *only bird-catchers*. It is not often that this people have excited more than a passing notice when met with, but our own records show instances of their progress across country being similarly arrested. I wait, however, for proof of the actual occurrence of any offence, the present rainy period in those parts, being the season for their legitimate pursuit of *feather gathering*. I myself on one occasion when employed down there, from my convenient post between those two territories (Madras and Bombay,) intercepted a gang of them on its way from Madras to Rutnagherry on the Bombay coast. Openly they *are* bird-catchers, and as such convey the plumage of the birds, ensnared by them in the low marshes of the Concan, to Calcutta or Madras, from where the supply is sent to China; and from China, the feathers are imported back to India in the shape of those beautiful fans so much in request among European ladies, who little suppose how much the story of those lovely feathers, and of the pursuit of the occupation, is sometimes connected with some very dark deeds of crime. The conviction, however, of the wary and certainly enterprising race, has not been frequent, whatever our own special knowledge of their secret habits.³

³ P.S.—*Chirree-Márs* are bird-catchers from the coast of

Club
Dinner.

At evening Hugh and I were of Colonel Vaughan's guests at dinner at the Club, where dinner-giving is frequent at this season, the cuisine under the manipulation of *Mugh* cooks, unexceptional, and wines the choicest. Commend me to "Christopher's Champagne" of our Club brand, whatever the other vintages here or elsewhere—particularly to an iced *magnum* bottle of it! No "nectared sweets" can compare with it!

21st July, Sunday, Simlah. — Whether from "*Simkin*," or a fresh cold, made worse by going out last night, or a fit of laziness, stayed at home to-day!

Madras. Properly, they are a ramification of the Korwee tribe, and their language is Teleegoo. They get money advances for their feather crop, and then sally forth in bodies of from ten to twenty persons, stretching right across the peninsula into the Konkun, snaring principally kingfishers and birds of brilliant plumages, the skins of which they convey to the Madras coast, from where they are exported to China and are there converted into those pretty fans and feathered ornaments that are imported from China to India and Europe. But they are *gang robbers* too, as often as they find the opportunity. They supply themselves, when periodically setting out on such feather collecting expeditions, with *nuc vomica* and other medicines to use as antidotes against snake-bites, to which they are so much exposed while engaged in catching the birds they want in the swamps of the Konkun, where, chiefly, such birds are to be found, and they seem to care little when snake-bitten, their habit being daily to take an infinitesimal dose of powdered "*kouchla*" (*nuc vomica*), for two or three months before setting out, by their doing which they declare they become impervious to any evil effects from the bites of snakes or other venomous things for quite six months to come." (Taken from a list of seventy-one wandering and other predatory tribes infesting the districts of the Bombay territory, with their occupations, ostensible and real, etc., drawn up by Captain Charles Hervey, Assistant General Superintendent of the Thuggee Department. No. 1, New Series of Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government in the Police Branch, 1858.)

22nd July.—The returns of poisoning cases for the Central Provinces, examined to-day, present indications which cause me apprehension. I mentioned some time back the case of a railway official, how his food had been tampered with, and he nearly poisoned to death by his servants, two Thug-born fellows from our depôt at Jubbulpore (*vide* p. 51, vol. ii.) The present reports from Jubbulpore, include a “murder by poison;” a case of robbery “after administering poison,” the deed, it would seem of a scoundrel, upon three fellow-workmen employed, like himself, as masons on the railway; and the murder of a man and his wife, “found strangled” within their own dwelling-place. These, and some other instances of crime in the same neighbourhood (Jubbulpore,) of prior and subsequent date, make me feel anxious. I fear some of our own people, the offshoots of our depôt down there, may like those *Thug-zâdas* (Thug-born,) be at work. For although these cases are not locally attributed to “professional” criminals, and the persons taken up for them have been discharged, still we cannot be too watchful over such occurrences, or be too suspicious when they take place. In watching professional criminals of hereditary descent, this is doubly necessary. When lately the special Dacoity Agency, long kept up in Bengal, was abolished, and the dacoit approvers appertaining to it were summarily allotted, under the orders of the local Government, to four selected districts, and there placed under the so-called “surveil-

Poisoning
by Thug
Offspring.

Released
Dacoit
Approvers
revert to
Dacoities.

lance" of the local police, I remonstrated at the arrangement, no previous reference as to its advisability having been made to *myself* as General Superintendent, or sanction obtained from the Supreme Government, without which "it was not competent," I said, to any local Government to release convicted thugs or dacoits, which those approvers were. It followed, as I had anticipated, that the freed approvers at each of those points, *reverted to dacoitie*. In one instance they were joined by some local police constables, *their supposed custodians* (approvers convicted and sentenced *five*, constables *three*, other accomplices *four*;) in another they escaped detection; in the third case the gang numbered thirty-five men (approvers convicted *nine*, a "Thug-záda," or son of an approver, *an enrolled member, too, of the city police, one*, the rest of the gang having been invited by these men from the neighbouring district!) and in the fourth instance, the approvers were even living *in the local police lines*, and the place selected for the dacoitie was in a neighbouring village. They committed this last affair, the report stated, "in the old professional way, with lighted torches, their faces blackened, and bodies half naked" (approvers convicted *four*.) I recently, on like grounds, objected to the liberation of certain Thug convicts from the jail at Bangalore down Mysore, whose release had been proposed in consideration of their long incarceration. In support of my objection I quoted, among numerous other instances, the example of the release of the Thug

offspring who, as before noticed (p. 54, vol. ii.,) afterwards became a very notorious Thug Jemadar, although he had been a *détenu*, along with his mother, during the whole period of his boyhood, and was supposed to be untainted. On the Bangalore occasion I was consulted by the local administration, at that period presided over as Chief Commissioner, by Mr. Lewin Bowring, the indefatigable and hard-fagged Private Secretary of Lord Canning throughout the period of the Mutiny, and a most able member of the Bengal Civil Service, Mr. Ch. Saunders, of the same service, being the Judicial Commissioner of the Province. My advice against the proposed clemency was followed,⁴ and I here quote, as bearing

A released
Thug Lad
becomes
a great
Thug
Jemadar.

⁴ The following anecdote of an escaped Thug may be regarded to be relevant to this subject. I quote it from my account of it:—

“So inexorably, indeed, did the approvers perform their duty, that but a few years ago, when I was the Assistant General Superintendent for the Bombay territories, an old Thug, who *thirty-five* years previously was transported to the Mauritius, and there had almost become a Frenchman, escaping at length from the island in a French ship and landing at Bombay, was at once tracked by one of my approvers, notwithstanding his changed appearance and French gait; who, when brought before me, *accosted me in French*, and implored to be taken back to transportation, as that it was perfect misery to remain in a country from which, as he had learnt since his escape to it, every one of his male relations and acquaintances had been swept away—had either been hanged, or been sent beyond seas, or imprisoned in fetters for life—and almost every female had died from destitution—and the only person who lived to tell him the tale was his sister, whom he had left at his village a blooming girl, but who now had become a miserable infirm old woman, coming from whose lips this sad history of all those whose memory he had clung to through many years of sorrow and oppression, had fallen upon him with redoubled horror. I suffered him to live in the lines of the Department, but he died soon after from sheer

Story of a
Thug
escaped
from the
Mauritius.

on the 'subject, what occurred within my own executive experience in a like case :—"Owing to his years and, as I thought, his infirmity, I had permitted an aged Khaikaree dacoit of eighty, who had so long ceased from taking any active part in dacoitic, that no one of the approvers with me had been his actual accomplice in any act of robbery, to reside in the lines of the Department at this station (Belgaum,) also a young Khaikaree lad who had not yet been present in any gang robbery. Three other lads whom I had before released for the same reason, also another, a seeming blear-eyed old man between sixty and seventy years of age, whom also I had looked upon as bodily 'unfit,' I suffered to live in the neighbourhood, having obtained employment for them all as daily labourers on the roads under the local Executive Engineer, with the exception of the first old man, who was too aged to perform any manual labour. After some months, I was very much concerned at learning of some gang robberies taking place in the immediate vicinity of Belgaum (my post!) I felt that as I was then engaged in having so many dacoits arrested and punished, it was not likely that any distant gang would be so bold as to visit that neighbourhood; and I began strongly to suspect that some of the people about me were concerned. After some

Convicts
let out on
sufferance,
turn Gang
Robbers.

woe."--Of another Thug fugitive I may here relate, that after many years of successful, but, as he told us, always troublous concealment, he was at length traced and discovered as the gun-cleaner and *shikáree* of the sporting Rajah of Bulrámpore.

little time I succeeded in ascertaining, beyond every doubt, that the above persons formed indeed the gang, fostered in a manner *by myself*! Four of the number admitted the fact: the first old man had obtained all preliminary information as to the houses to be robbed—he planned the robberies; the second old man conducted them in person; the lads formed his gang; it had been regularly organized, and everything that was done, had been done *systematically*. The responsibility of this fact seemed to me to be enormous."

"It would be curious" (I went on saying,) "should the above circumstance operate with Government more strongly than anything else I have advanced against the leniency proposed to be exercised. To be compelled to oppose clemency, and not meet in the same spirit the magnanimity by which it has been prompted, is the most humiliating feature of my duties; but I am assured it will be felt, from what I have submitted, that protection to the lives and property of our peaceable subjects is the paramount consideration. I indulge even in the hope that it will be perceived, that while such atrocious crimes continue to be practised by a people who have for generations been a pest to the inhabitants of the country at large—that while such people continue addicted to their evil habits and tendencies—the time cannot have arrived to relax any of the measures that have been adopted to suppress them." To this I here add, that no advantage would arise from colonizing such people, or of

Undue
leniency
depre-
or ted.
"Guard-
ianship"
is frus-
trated and
evaded.

Vain to
Colonize.

placing guardians over them, for (as was also my predecessor's experience) we have had numerous instances in which both had failed, and "not one in which either had succeeded." Small police guards have been placed near such robber colonies as guardians; but they have always been found to connive at their offences from motives whether of fear or of interest.

23rd July.—In the Returns of Highway Dacoitie for the period still under report, there occurs a remarkable case, and as it is connected with a personal adventure, I transcribe what I have noted of it. A good deal of crime of a murderous sort had been taking place on the line of railway then under construction over the *Thull Ghât* trending Bombay-wards, and I resolved, as will be seen, to travel that way in order personally to obtain, if to be done, some inkling as to the tactics of the perpetrators. To pierce that mountain barrier down as if to the level of the low-lying country below it, was a stupendous undertaking on the part of the indomitable Railway Engineers who had accepted that labour; but always indefatigable and everywhere *never* to be deterred by obstacles (of which the similar tunnelling of the *Bhóre Ghât* ⁶ leading to Bombay from the Deccan,

The Constructor of the original Cartway over the Bhóre Ghat.

⁶ P.S.—To *Captain G. W. Hughes*, of the Bombay Army, was due the merit of laying out and constructing, earlier in the present century, the first practicable road over the Bhóre Ghât, as it was to *Captain Peter Delamotte* (subsequently the General Officer who in 1845 commanded the operations of the campaign in the Southern Mahratta country,) to cut out from the multitude of bewildering rocks, the road, now the pleasant evening drive

which had also interposed the way, was a proud example,) the gigantic operation had been successfully accomplished, one only link, and that over a very difficult portion of the line, remaining to be completed, and it was of that *hiatus* that the robbers dexterously availed themselves. Among the numerous travellers on the particular occasion referred to, were a couple of *Juttees* from Bikaner, members of the same remarkable race mentioned in the account of my journey to that desert city (*vide* page 158, vol. i. : *) “At that time the railway over the Thull Ghát connecting the *Equlpoora* and *Kussára* stations, had not yet been completed, and the habit was for railway passengers on arrival at either terminus, which for

Personal
Adven-
ture.

round Breach Candy and Malabar Hill in Bombay. I was at Addiscombe with the youngest son of the former officer. He came out after myself, and I well remember his father, the simple old infantry officer, but a practical engineer of no ordinary merit, then long retired from active service, following soon subsequently, as well once more to behold his young son and an elder one, both of the Bombay Army, as again to visit the scene of his labours, and be there lost in contemplation of the difficulties he had overcome, and in wonder of the marvellous accomplishment of that task! Of course all that kind of thing is mere *bagatelle* now-a-days, but in those former times there were not the means and appliances, nor yet the scientific acquirements possessed by engineers of the present period, and the engineering difficulties were consequently ten-fold.

* P.S.—The *Getæ*, whose forefathers so obstinately opposed the invasion of their country by Alexander the Great: Pronounce the leading letter of the old Greek formation of the name of that tribe (one said to be of Scythian origin,) as you would the letter J, and the succeeding letter as a short vowel (as both should be but for our knack of mispronouncing every word that is not *English*), and take the next succeeding letter into the first syllable, you then get exactly the name by which these people call themselves to the present day, namely *Juttee*. I add this under correction.

How
properly
pronounce
the word
Getæ.

the down train was generally at about *midnight*, to hurry over the intervening *eleven* miles of Ghat road, afoot or in the diminutive two-wheeled carts which plied there, called *tángas*, drawn by a couple of small ponies, a common mode of conveyance in that part of the country. Robberies on passengers who lingered behind, had then lately often taken place, and the *tंगा* drivers were suspected to be implicated. In the present case the *tंगा* conveying the two Juttee travellers then just arrived at Egutpoora by the night train, lagged behind the great bulk of the other passengers. It was accompanied by another similar conveyance occupied by three persons, who feigned to be also railway passengers, and by-and-by the two Juttees were barbarously murdered by these ruffians, themselves cartmen whose vehicles had got no hire. They were joined in the foul deed by the drivers of those two *tángas*. The throat of one man was described to have been cut 'as a goat's would be.' The other Juttee manfully resisted, but being at length overpowered, he also was butchered. The local police now, by my experiment I have supposed, made aware of the method observed by these skulking miscreants, were quickly on the spot, displaying too, more than their usual mettle, a quality they before had lacked. Four of the criminals were promptly captured, of whom three were soon after hanged, one having been admitted as Queen's evidence; and only one man remains unarrested."*—I was, as I have said, travelling unaccompanied, along

* Taken from my report of the occasion.

the same road in the same way shortly *previously*, and, as I may consider, I narrowly escaped a like fate; for I had purposely loitered behind in my *tānga*. The road was very wild and lonely, and the distant voices of the numerous passengers who had hurried on ahead, were now only faintly heard. Presently two men appeared from concealment behind the rocky wayside. They crossed and recrossed the head of my cart, for it was being slowly driven, but being advised of me, by the driver of it in the Mahratta language, "Wait—he is still awake," they desisted, and I expected to be attacked further on. But presently a tiger was observed standing upon a projecting rock overhanging the cart track. The waning moon from behind plainly revealed this new visitor's figure. Of his presence somewhere about, the two little ponies harnessed to my *tānga*, had before given indications by pricking their ears, snorting, and becoming uneasy. Others, I have no doubt, have experienced like myself, when travelling by night through forest tracks or a jungly country on horseback, this perception of a wild beast being somewhere near and about, and the consequent recklessness unmistakably displayed by the horses they bestrode. The sensation is a very unpleasant one; for the syce or horsekeeper stepping by the side of your horse in the darkness of the night or in the uncertain light of the flickering torch, is also in the deepest awe. The men with you will shout out and all that—faint utterings and mild defiance at loudest—and

the torch-bearers will fling about their flambeaux flurriedly, but, none the less, all huddle together affrighted, and it is as much as you can manage, amid the general consternation, to keep your horse from bolting incontinently—where to you know not ! On the present occasion the sudden apparition was a climax. It maddened the two little tattoos attached to the tanga, already violently agitated as they were by the previously scented bodily presence of the jungle monarch. Stay to perform obeisance—never ! With ears erect, heads up-lifted, nostrils distended and stertorous, and altogether unmanageable, they started—they rushed the dreaded spot—and then with down-stretched heads and stiffened tails, they tore on wildly at their hardest pace—a mad chase along the narrow and precipitous way, at best but a cart track with broken rocky ground on either side—frantically pelted through the soon overtaken passengers, in and among them to their great peril and the imminent risk of my collapsed driver, and not a little alarmed self—nor stopped nor stayed, until they had brought me in safety, as I was thankful to acknowledge, to the Kussára Railway Station, the goal of that midnight stampede ; and there I was informed by the station-master and employés at the wildly solitary post, that a tiger had for several nights been prowling about the place, and that one had even been seen there at an earlier hour that very night. I felt very much indebted to that tiger, short and untender as would have been the mercy shown by His

Majesty too ; but I thought I would have preferred to have been left to him, than to the human monsters I had so nearly fallen among. I could on my part, for his opportune service to me, have wished, for the grace of his abstention, that he had been spared a longer shrift than was the fate of those miserable cut-throats who waylaid me, though he were even a *man-eater* ; but the fine brute was himself slain shortly after by some railway sportsmen, ever on the look-out for such big game. The rôle, sociable and not, personated in this tale of plot and retaliation, was, it will be perceived, *five-fold*—myself, the local police, the murderers, the tiger, and the gentlemen of the railway—of whom in this five-handed competition, where all were perhaps equally bloodthirsty, the marplot tiger proved the *sacing clause* !

Tigris agit rabidâ cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam : sævis inter se convenit ursis.

24th July.—I was very pleased at receiving a letter this morning from an old native friend who had long not written to me—one *Goondo Bapoojee Karmulyeckur*, of Gokâk near Belgaum, in the Southern Mahratta country. He says he desired much to see me, was “extremely unhappy for having nothing heard from you since a long time. I am greatly indebted to you for your having shown innumerable kindness towards me which I often remember.” Good cause had he to be so mindful, for our acquaintance began strangely, and the story of it was full of incident. Three brothers living at Gokâk together formed a firm of Sahoocars

The
Dacoitis
at Gokâk.

under the business name of "Kurrulgee-kur," from their ancestral village of *Kurruljee*. They had grown old thus associated, and with them resided the grown-up son of one of the three. He was their heir, the other two being childless. A nephew, namely my friend *Gloendo*, the only son of a deceased younger brother, also resided with them, and he unfortunately was not a favourite with his three old uncles. Suddenly one evening at nightfall, or "lamp-lighting time," the hour invariably chosen by *Khenjurs*, the class concerned, some of whose excesses I have described before (*vide* p. 101, vol. i.), to commit dacoitie, their premises were invaded by a band of robbers, one of them holding a flaming torch, upon whose appearance the several *barkeens* or accountants of the establishment, seated in the verandah occupied in drawing up the transactions of the day, hastily got up and fled, and two of the aged partners intuitively concealed themselves, the nephew being in an inner apartment; but the other old man and his son fell into the hands of the bandits and both were instantly speared. The strong room, previously marked down when exploring the premises, was next broken into by a blow from a hatchet against its ponderous padlock, and the money-bags and other valuables deposited in it, rifled and carried off. With spearmen in front, spearmen behind, and the plunder-bearers in their centre, the gang bodily escaped through the town, boldly shouting defiance and aiming blows at anyone they chanced to meet. Five persons were murdered on this

occasion and five others were wounded.* The event, one of a series of similar robberies in the same direction, created great consternation ; for not only did the surviving partners of the firm, suspect their obnoxious nephew of procuring the dacoitie—for “ had he not now become heir to the estate ? ”—but the local political and magisterial authorities, on the other hand, believed, that the deed was rather to be attributed to a *political* aim. For among the murdered persons was a man who held a position of influence in the neighbourhood, by whose death the succession to his estate and dignity was diverted into another line, and it was supposed the dacoitie was a covert act by which to compass that end. This man was the *Dêssac* or manorial proprietor, of an important district in those parts called *Wuttoor*, and it chanced that he had arrived at Gokák on the very evening of the outrage, and, with his attendant horsemen and followers, had alighted under an open lean-to shed or verandah, of a *Dhurmsúla* situated in the street opposite to the house that was attacked. The dacoits, however, had no interest whatever in either the descent of the *Wuttoor* manorship, or the entail of the *Kurrulgee* banking estate. The leader of the gang was the same *Grassia Naik* whom I have mentioned before (pp. 107 and 167, vol. ii.,) and he had come down to those distant southern parts from the *Oudh Terac and Central India* on an expedition of dacoitie to be committed wherever he had the opportunity. It was his last feat, for he was arrested at *Sattara* not long after. When the

gang had assembled on the appointed evening at the preconcerted spot outside of the place where their weapons had been previously concealed, the leader, in usual course, entered the town—not only to obtain oil for the torch, but to take a last look round about the doomed premises, and he perceived that some armed men had alighted at the Dhurm-sāla indicated, *who would require to be looked to.* “He and his men (I quote from my printed report of the event,) had travelled several miles that day with the settled purpose of committing this dacoitie, as planned fully a month previously. A bad omen which occurred that morning when they had started to commit it, had moreover been discharmed and converted into a propitious one. The wife of one of the gang had died a few days previously and her obsequies had been carefully performed; but, following that event so very immediately, their superstitious fears were scared at meeting, on the morning of their setting out on their predetermined purpose, the dead body of a man as it was being borne along for cremation. This boded evil, and thereupon one of their number, to make it of none effect, promptly went up to the bier and *pointed his stick against the face of the corpse,* by which act the supposed threatened calamity was averted, and the gang felt themselves free to proceed with their enterprise. Their leader was not now, therefore, to be deterred from his purpose by the mere accident of the advent of the Dêssae and his armed retainers in close proximity to the point of attack. Returning to the spot where his men

had assembled, and, ready armed, were awaiting him, he rapidly told off each man to his appointed part, and merely remarked to a tried member of the gang, named *Hurree*, on whom, on occasions of danger or difficulty, he had always relied, and who, with three others, was to post himself in the street adverted to, that in the shed "over the way there" he would find a personage wearing a wide white *pagree*, who and his attendants *should be seen to* if they stirred at all in the matter. The consequence was that the man and two of his companions were speared outright, and five of his followers were wounded."---The dacoits were not thus, in communication with any local parties. Certainly they knew nothing of *Goondo* or his family affairs. Their leader learnt that the firm was a *rich one*, and that being all he wanted to know, he visited their "Dookan" or place of business in person early one morning, and in the usual way asked them to change some money which he produced of another part of the country, for local currency. One of the old men thereupon unlocked the fastenings of a chamber opening on the same corridor where their business was transacted, and brought out from it the required change. By this the robber leader learnt the situation of the money room, and marked it down accordingly (*vide p. 106, vol. ii.*) The booty was not a very considerable one; but the gang numbered twenty-one men, and they all got clear away with it several hundred miles, despite the presence at the gate of the town, of a strong party of Mahratta Horse who might

have pursued them had they been so minded. Suspected of instigating the deed, in view to inheriting the property of his surviving uncles, *Gloondo the nephew* was arrested, and his life was in great jeopardy. He was kept in custody for six months, and every endeavour made to get him convicted, and he was greatly incensed at the prosecution he had been subjected to by his two uncles. Smarting under a sense of the injustice he had suffered, he burned to be revenged upon them, and he leapt up eagerly at the intelligence of my successes just about then, against dacoits who had depredated in that quarter (in the Gudduc case then particularly, *vide* p. 158,) for I was stationed in the neighbourhood, and he pressed me for information by which he should at last be relieved of the horrible suspicion he had laboured under. For some of the gang, including Grassia, had fallen into my custody, of whom (Hurree being one,) seven were indeed sentenced to transportation for life for this very act of dacoitie (the rest being similarly accounted for by the special department at different subsequent dates,) and it was well known that the dacoitie at Gokak had been revealed to me by the approvers I had admitted from that particular tribe (*vide* p. 167.) I endeavoured to dissuade him from pressing his complaint, to spare his aged uncles now that he had been so completely vindicated and they themselves overwhelmed with a sense of the wrong they had inflicted upon him. But he had not then been long released from durance, and was obdurate—declared their endea-

your was to get him hanged—that had they succeeded in their charges, he certainly would have been hanged—was he to let them off? So that, when the real culprits were proceeded against by me and condemned, he, in his turn, preferred charges against his two relatives and against their witnesses of false imprisonment and conspiracy, and both old men were convicted accordingly and sentenced each to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour, and the others for various shorter periods. Prior to their arrest and trial, however, the two old men, now thoroughly alarmed, first sent, and then secretly came to me and made me high offers if only I would suppress the information which should prove their nephew's innocence.⁷ I

⁷ P.S.—Several cases of the innocence of convicted parties had come to light in the course of the operations I was engaged in at this period, and in reporting upon another flagrant instance thereof in the same connection as the above case at Gokák, I felt it necessary to give an explanation of the accident of such discoveries, and the delicacy and untowardness of my position in respect thereto: "The case of the dacoitie at Gokák (that above described,) will be in your recollection; how nearly similar conduct on the side of the plundered parties brought an innocent person (their nephew) to condign punishment. On proofs, adduced from this office, of that outrage having been the act of dacoits from Hindostan then in my custody, the accused and sometime imprisoned man, prosecuted those parties, and the result was *their conviction and sentence to fines and imprisonment*. It had been my endeavour to dissuade him from proceeding against them, and rather to remain satisfied with the establishment of his own innocence. The emphatic reply was, *they would have had him hanged had they succeeded in establishing their accusation against him!* And I adduce that circumstance as an example of the present case, that under the law on which the arraigned parties in it, ten in number, were committed for trial, *they were liable to the extreme penalty (death) prescribed therein for an offence of such a nature.*

"So serious, then, might have been the result of the trial, that

believe they both fulfilled the period of the punishment awarded them. The nephew, any how, soon

I submit for consideration, whether, upon the issue of the present inquiry, the tēlee (oilman) and his family" (upon whose house a dacoite had been committed and who perjured themselves as against the persons wrongfully convicted of it,) "should not, as a public example, be driven with ignominy from their present village, the punished parties be restored to it with marked consideration, and the police patell and members of police, mentioned in the record, deprived of place and employment, and the police patell himself (village headman) heavily fined.

"I am led to this course because, even with the encouragement I have been honoured with by Government, to use my utmost endeavour in such cases to enable it to make every reparation to parties who may have been wrongfully punished, and with every consciousness of the duty being a laudable one, I find myself drawn into these inquiries very unwillingly; and I would, therefore, have it felt that it was not in vain that the misconduct of the native police is investigated and brought to light, when so calculated, as it was in the present case, to mislead and misdirect their European superiors.

"My part in bringing such transactions to light, arising out of the nature of the duties with which I have been publicly entrusted, naturally places me, I feel, in an invidious position. Over that, from the manner in which such acts become discovered to have been the deed of professional dacoits, deposed to as they are by approvers, *not with any special reference to any one particular act of crime, but elicited in the course of the examination to which these persons are subjected with the view to ascertaining the number and nature of those they may have committed at different periods during their respective careers*, I am satisfied it will be perceived that I have myself no control. But the question arises—to what extent may not such instances as the present, of the conviction of innocent persons, become multiplied; and how check for the future all chance of any recurrence of such convictions? With respect to the latter, it may occur to Government that its sense towards the parties through whose agency false witness has been borne and evidence suborned, where so palpable as in the present instance, should be summarily marked as the most effectual means of deterring others; and, in regard to the former, it is a matter beyond conjecture, and I must trust to continued support in the performance of a duty of so unpleasant a nature." (Taken from a letter from Captain Charles Hervey, Assistant General Superintendent No. 173, 22nd October, 1852, paras. 10 to 13.)

after succeeded to their estate. I had not^{*} heard from him since the above events, and I have replied to his present letter advising him to travel to Upper India now that railways had so much facilitated such long journeys :—"You are at the head of a prosperous firm, your agents are probably men whom you could trust, it would be an advantage to you to travel about and see Delhi and the territories your countrymen formerly invaded and occupied."

25th July.—The final completion of these statis- Dacoitie
Statistics.
tics give a great deal of trouble; for so much continues to come in from time to time, that the figured statements require repeated alterations. They unfold, however, much that is interesting and eventful, such as I may avail myself of at some future period when *retrospecting* in the hoped-for quietness of retirement. To-day I have been revising the returns for *West Berar*, and I take from the tale the following, as an example of the extent of supervision and the variety of the criminal classes included in the scope of our ken. It shows also the *long-handedness* of our work. In the published List of seventy-one wandering and other Predatory Tribes supplied by me to the Bombay Government before adverted to (*vide* footnote p. 186,) were mentioned two designated *Párdhees* and *Pháusi-Párdhees*, Párdhees. both affined classes and being indeed identical but for residence and mode of livelihood, the former being of settled habitations and living chiefly by plunder, the latter itinerant and subsisting by snaring game; yet both essentially "shikárees" or

hunters in their respective degrees, those hunting large game and running down wild hog with dogs, and these or the *Phánsi-Párdhees*, contenting themselves with snaring peacocks, partridges, antelope and suchlike, cleverly managed by setting nooses or *phánsi* (whence their name,) strongly pegged into the ground where game abounded, and made of catgut. I have watched these indefatigable trappers driving antelope most patiently, unperceived and by slow degrees, towards the snares planted across the track or circuit a herd would be wont to follow, and only when closely approached to the forelaid ground, would the stealthy beaters urge the timid lot to a quicker pace, and anon, by shouts and openly showing themselves, to consternation and wilder flight, the hallooing generally ending in three or four head of deer being helplessly caught by their feet and entangled among the staked-down meshes. Equally clever are they in circumventing *jackals*. Wrapped up or encased in a jackal skin and provided with a stout short club, one of them lying out, will at nightfall answer the challenge call of the male jackal with a similar characteristic prolonged counter yelp or re-echo most exactly imitated. This forthwith brings up the unsuspecting champion to avenge the vaunt, and not a moment is lost in beginning the provoked encounter, preceded by angry snarls on either side, both real and the pretended, whereupon the bold but cozened true jackal, is forthwith dexterously cudgelled and slain. The latter or *Phánsi-Párdhees* are the proto-

types of the other section of the tribe. They are *shikárees* pure and peaceable : not so the other lot or "Pardhees," who under the cloak of their being also hunters, affect when taken up, to be the same inoffensive people. Their sport, however, is large game, for the ostensible purposes of pursuing which they possess themselves with swords and spears and matchlocks, and, further to mystify and confute research or inquiry, they reside mostly in villages and engage themselves as village watchmen and night guards. But all this is only their exoteric habit and their ruse, their *secret* practice being to commit gang robbery, in following which they are both bold and enterprising. They do not rob at any very remote distances from their homes, although going sometimes a long way for the purpose, and they are not generally thought to rob with open violence, yet rob in a manner so nearly bordering upon it, that a very slight change of circumstances or position, converts them into veritable dacoits. At their villages the so-called *Párdhees* are known also as *Tákrinkárs*, from their further ostensible occupation of mending and pointing mill-stones, by their going about in towns and villages offering to do which, they obtain information of places for future plunder. These people are to be met with chiefly in the Berars, in Khandeish, and the Moghullai or Nizam's territory. Higher up in India they may be recognized as identical with the race called *Bowreas* in Marwár and in the Saharunpoor and Delhi districts, and with the *Bágrees* of Malwa ; both confirmed

dacoits in those regions and frequently coming within our operations. The "Párdhees," then, are often formidable robbers of the professional order. Their common way, however, of effecting an entrance into a place marked for plunder, is, by means of long single bamboos or poles with short sticks tied across them and projecting on either side, to scale the loftiest walls and places, and thus be enabled to reach and force closed or blocked-up doors and windows the least thought of or distrusted by the inmates by reason of their very loftiness. I had only lately established a sub-agency of the Department in West Berar, with head-quarters at *Akolah*, with the "Hydrabad Assigned Districts" comprehended in what is territorially designated *the Berars*, for its circle of supervision. The officer appointed to the charge of it (Captain T. Davies,) was what was called a "Local Officer" in the service of H.H. the Nizam, and he was also the police officer of the district, not at all deficient in energy, as will be seen, and from education and local associations thoroughly, by birth, conversant with native ways, and very well qualified for the duty under watchful supervision. I have had the assistance of three or four such gentlemen from time to time, and have found them very useful under proper control, the tendency otherwise being, from habit and training, to drift into native *versatilities*, and to adopt means of procedure not always *en règle*. Their intelligence, properly directed, is often remarkable; and their tractability when

once brought to understand the full meaning of complete devotion to orders betokened in the expression *jo hookkum*, that shibboleth of implicit obedience to every command, can be moulded to a degree of efficiency, within certain bounds, that often equals if it does not excel that of the more exact, but not so pliable though more zealous European subordinate. As secretariat clerks, and in other Government and mercantile offices, they are invaluable, although not considered in the latter employment to be generally so *cute* or intelligent, and perhaps not so patiently diligent, as the Bengalee *Baboo*, the Madras *Gentoo* clerk, or the Bombay *Purboo*. They are, on the whole, though a most useful, somewhat a dilettante lot.—Captain Davies when taking up the new duty was supplied from my office with lists of the criminals registered by us as dacoits belonging to the several classes infesting Berar and contiguous territory. They included the names, parentage, etc., of as many as *ninety-three* *Párdhees* against whom there was sufficient information to warrant their arrest, beside *Táinkárs* of the genus “*Párdhee*,” *Kolhátees* and other banded classes residing in and about Berar, numbering in like manner *from 290 to 300 men*. He had come to Ellichapoor, the proper capital of Berar, situated on the high ground of the Ajuntee range, and had alighted with some of his establishment inside of that town. At an early hour of that night, shouts were heard as of a dacoitie, proceeding from outside of the town * walls. Word was hurriedly brought in that a

Dacoities
by
Párdhees
on a
Mosque.

richly*endowed *Durgah*, the shrine of one *Rahmán Oolla*, a local saint, located without the town, was under attack from a band of robbers. Davies promptly proceeded to the spot, but found that the dacoits had already left it with their booty. This consisted not only of several *giláfs*, those beautifully brocaded green silken coverings which are devoutly spread over the tombs of reputed holy men and of princes, but of a large quantity of *silver plating* which the robbers had, as sacrilegiously, peeled and torn off from the massive wooden doors leading into the shrine. They had obtained entrance into the place by climbing an extemporized ladder, formed from the described single bamboo pole with short stepping-sticks or rungs fastened across it, up to a high and long-blocked-up window, through which they quickly effected an aperture, and so had passed down into the sanctuary. This mode of access at once indicated that *Párdhees* had been at work. The robbers fled across the open country, some doubling back into the town. Davies at once rode out six miles to where he knew some *Párdhees* resided, and there he found some of the plundered silver lining and silk coverlets, and arrested two men of that tribe, *both registered in his lists*. He thereupon carried out a sustained pursuit and research, and succeeded during that night and the following day, in capturing the entire gang with a single exception, and in recovering also the whole of the plundered silver plating, found buried here and there in a field, in

weight quite two maunds, or one hundred and sixty pounds of sheets of silver. All the prisoners were convicted and sentenced to transportation. It was supposed that some *Moojûirs*, permanent servants of the shrine, were implicated—an accusation I received with caution, distrusting that they could assent to the robbery of their own place of worship. It had at this period been contemplated by Sir John Lawrence, to abolish the Berar sub-agency. I had indeed received orders to dismember it, on the ground that the suppression of professional criminals should be left, “as in British districts,” to the action of the *local* police, which in Berar has then lately been considerably augmented. “Berar,” officially designated the *Berar. Hyderabad Assigned Districts*, had in the opinion of some, been looked upon as, and indeed been called, “the peaceful valley,” and not the *Alsatia* it was in point of fact found to be. The necessity for an increased police force in it was, very soon after its surrender to British administration, declared to be indispensable, owing to the continued excesses committed throughout it. Our own special Thuggee sub-agency was only a small auxiliary element, introduced as a tentative measure to the same end; but the occasion of the plunder of the above holy shrine and our action in detecting it, gave me the opportunity to say with reference to the order for its abolition, that I had been sanguine that the dacoities of a systematized nature in Berar and Khandoish, where so many heavy robberies the deed of professional dacoits had taken place, would

gradually be brought to light by the special department, and the offenders eventually arrested; information of the perpetrators was being obtained, and I was engaged in following it up when I received the order abolishing the sub-agency; it had then only very recently been established by me in concurrence with the wishes of the Resident at Hyderabad, the high officer who administered the Assigned Districts; cost very little; and "I should have been very glad had it pleased Government to allow it to exist for some little time longer, as I required co-operation in that quarter in the scheme of our general operations, for it linked the special agencies for the Rajpootanah and Central India States with that for H.H. the Nizam's territories, and afforded a direct supervision over the proceedings of professional criminals in the direction of the Central Provinces on the one side and of the Bombay Presidency on the other, a gap which, under existing arrangements, will not, I fear, be easily filled up, it being the practice of the police of British territory, to act independently and exclusively upon their own areas only"—our action on the other hand, not being confined to jurisdictional limits, but being *general*. This remonstrance resulted in my being authorized to send off a *clear-the-line* telegram countermanding the measure of abolition! The said sub-agency was subsequently, however, merged into the much larger and more extended one lately established by me at Jalnah under Captain Ward, and Davies, who was an old Local Officer, was retired on a pension from the Nizam's Government.

[*Post-scriptum*, 1889.—Referring to the 'Berar field of operations after the above, I here quote what I reported of its criminal condition a year subsequently (1868 :)—

Criminal
Condition
of the
Berara.

“ It was noteworthy in respect to the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, that the crime of dacoitie there has considerably decreased. The large amount of treasure that was constantly conveyed into that province by railway from Bombay, for the purchase of cotton, excited the cupidity of those bands of robbers from foreign territory (*Mecnas and Rhatores*,) who, always on the look-out for booty, were particularly in the habit of plundering convoys of treasure in various parts of India. The escorts employed being always slender and the local police below par, the succession of heavy robberies soon took place, which staggered the Berar and Khandesh authorities, by the atrocity with which they were sometimes attended, and dismayed the consignees, but which scarcely, in that period of speculation and mania, deterred purchasers from sending fresh supplies of money both in bullion and specie, with which to buy up the precious commodity. It was the spectacle of the impunity with which those professed robbers escaped with their rich booties into their own country, that soon caused local criminal organizations to spring up and to produce that constant recurrence of general dacoitie in Berar, which created such serious notice and led the Government of India to adopt a speedy and a sure remedy. The local police force being doubled and the European superintendence over it consider-

ably augmented, the crime at once collapsed and the foreign element was expelled by which principally it had been sustained. Dacoits from Rajpootanah, hitherto allured by so much wealth, the transfer of which to themselves had been so easy a process, but to whom only it had become a habit to ascribe almost every robbery, were now driven to seek some other field, scarcely however, so much through any example which had been made of them in Berar, the result of local police action (for but four men of their number would appear to have been convicted through the agency of the augmented Berar Police, of whom one only was hanged,) as through the measures of prevention locally presented by an increased and more efficient police organization, and by treasure being now escorted by the police itself, as well as by the checks placed upon the movements of the robbers in Native States, through the agency of the auxiliary Thuggee and Dacoitie Department. But, as was promised by me at the time (*vide supra*,) the perpetrators of those treasure dacoities are being gradually accounted for by this Department, resulting from the general measures adopted by it for their suppression."

And again, yet a year later (1869,) I further reported: "The influence the dacoits possess (*the Meena Khatores*,) prevents any very honest or hearty co-operation on the part of the different Durbars with the endeavours of this Department for their effectual suppression, the best that can be said of the "co-operation" of Native Rulers them-

selves, being, that they give a languid assent only to what is involuntarily conceded by them. No surveillance sufficiently strict to enable local authorities to account, when required to do so, for the movements of individuals of the tribe, is exercised even in the particular British district (Shajānpoor of Goorgaon) in which Meenas mostly reside (*vide* pp. 317, 327, vol. i.,) *much less in Native States*, in which any account of them at all is unwillingly given, and then only in an unreliable or involved form. The special department being thus left to itself, has to rely mainly upon its own exertions and upon what it can work out. If, therefore, I was sanguine, as I had promised,* that the robberies * *vide* p. 211. which they had committed in various parts of the country, and particularly in Berar and Khandaish, *would be traced out by us* and the tribe be vigorously pursued, the statements herewith submitted will afford some proof that those expectations have been realized, and *that almost every one of the heavy treasure dacoities in Berar*, which created so much anxiety at the time and led Government to increase so considerably the police force of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, besides many more of occurrence in other parts of India of which no clue had hitherto been acquired, *have indeed been duly traced by the Department under my control and been brought home to these people*. I would dwell upon this result as the more satisfactory, from the fact that while the arrangements by which the strength of the Berar local police was so considerably augmented and placed

under 'so improved and so increased an European superintendence, served, as might have been expected, to put down *local* criminal organizations, and to prevent (as they were calculated to do,) the incursions into the province of the bands of plunderers from Rajpootanah by whom these districts used to be so frequently visited, no actual detection or punishment of any of the latter on the part of the local police took place, *except in two only instances*, as was submitted in my previous Report (convictions four, one hanged.)* If it should be so, then the operations of this Department, by which they have been, and continue to be, gradually brought to justice, have perhaps, been productive of some beneficial results. 'THOU ART OF MORE MIGHT THAN THE HILLS OF THE ROBBERS' was an apt illustration of the terror an organized banditti could inspire from their retreats in the unexplored recesses of an unsupervised and ill-governed country: 'The first enemy,' which one such lawless band was described in another allegorical account to have encountered, 'was that of sleep,'⁸ as pertinently showed that it was only

* *Vide* p.
214.

⁸ "See *Sheik Sadi's* pretty story in the *Gulistan*, of the fatal leniency advocated by a Vizier in behalf of a gang of dacoits who from their refuge in some hills afflicted the people in the plains. They had retreated with a rich booty to their fastness in the hills, and, fatigued, had fallen asleep, when the King's *Najeebs*, as we might here call them, fell upon and captured them. Taken before the Ruler of the country, he directed their decapitation. Whereupon his old Vizier interceded in behalf of one of their number on account of his youth. The Monarch's reply was, that the lad was *born a robber*; but the Minister urged that he was not yet a *hardened dacoit*. The youth was handed over to the Vizier for the experiment of reforming

by their neglect of ordinary precautions that they could be overcome or suppressed. The measures then of the British Government, by which they are both hunted to their fastnesses, or are made powerless for mischief in them, would show that, asleep or not, retreat into their hills and wilds, does not afford them that refuge which of old furnished the figure that by Omnipotence *only could they be brought low.*"]

26th July, Simlah.—In India we talk of the prospect of an expedition to Abyssinia, now imminent; and at home the question is whether France will wage war with Juarez of Mexico for the "murder" of the Emperor Maximilian.

Referring to the case of my friend *Goondo*, the Kurrulgee banker, in connection with the dacoitie at Gokák (*vide* p. 197,) I to-day looked over the record in another equally murderous outrage committed by the same class of depredators under another Naik or leader in the same neighbourhood about fifteen months previously. "Dacoitie," as understood in Upper India, and commonly spoken of, used not then to be admitted to exist or take place in Bombay or Madras territory, and the suppression of that crime had not then yet been superadded to my duties as the special

him, but whose head he, by-and-by cut off, and then escaped to his people! It was as criminal 'to belong to a gang of dacoits' as to have 'committed dacoitie,' was as much that sovereign's principle, as it is that of the Government of India; while that of the ill-fated Vizier was the same sympathy or hesitation which leads so many of our judicial officers to pass lenient sentences upon such offenders."]

Thuggee Officer for the Bombay Circle. For whenever urged by me that it *was* committed, even down Bombay or Madras, and that, too, by *organized dacoits* as much banded together for the purpose as any infesting Upper India, I would be told to *go to Hindostan* "if you want to find 'dacoits'!" Its suppression had not then, therefore, been extended to myself, and it was only on my persistent representations, and on the Governor of Bombay of the period, Sir George Clerk, a Bengal civilian, discerning that the cases of then recent occurrence in the Southern Mahratta country, and particularly that at *Gudduc* (the musk case), which I had, as I have said, personally followed up and detected (*vide* p. 158,) bore all the features of "professional dacoitie" as committed in Upper India, where he had served, that the new duty was entrusted to me, and I received a *carte blanche* to proceed against the perpetrators. For the present were not the only cases, nor the *Khunjurs* the only offenders who committed dacoitie in Southern India. I had traced back the expeditions of the latter tribe even to Madras and to the Nizam's territories (notably a case at *Oopwa Ellore* near Masulipatam); at *Bolárum* near Secunderabad; in the military cantonments at *Jalnah* on the treasure chest, resembling the similar affair at Sholapore lately described (p. 101;) at *Bellary* (Madras,) and on Bombay ground at *Meernj*; at *Dhoolia* on the military chest; in the camp bazaars of Sir Thomas Munro when in the field, both at *Kulludghee* and at *Sholapore*; of Sir James Keir when invest-

Former
Dacoities
by Khun-
jurs in
Madras
and
Bombay
Territory.

ing the fort of *Rairee* near *Vingorla* on the western coast; and of a reinforcement of troops from Madras when marching under Colonel Dowse through the *Amboolie Pass* near *Belgaum*; as well as at *Dhoonsee* of *Dhárwár* on some merchants when alighted for the night with their goods close to a police station; and other places far and near, all of remoter dates, the perpetrators of which had hitherto remained unknown;) and I was further able to discover and report upon the habits as dacoits of several other classes of robbers and criminals by profession, particularly of the *Khaikarees*, a tribe presumably of mat and basket weavers, who, under various denominations, were found broadcast throughout Bombay and Madras territory and the Deccan generally, practising dacoitie, their secret occupation (*vide* pp. 347, 350, vol. i. and pp. 73, 166, vol. ii.) At the period indicated, the discovery of the *Gokák* case (p. 197,) was one only of a string of disclosed robberies following upon my action in arresting the Gudduc gang (p. 158.) That information led up, one after another, to all the other cases, of which prominently a dacoitie at *Bhagulkote*, the case adverted to, was another very atrocious example. I take it from my papers of the period. It was committed upon the premises of a very thriving firm of native bankers, and the leader of the gang was the same *Kunkia Naik* who afterwards perpetrated the robbery at Gudduc (p. 158.) He took, as usual, some rupees of another currency to the place marked down for plunder, and inquired of the *Shroff*, at what rate he would discount it for

locally current coin, but being offered less on the transaction than the dacoit pretended was enough, he purposely "set up an altercation" with the banker, who haggled for a bargain of a few coppers less on the rupee, than the robber declared he would consent to. On the latter pretending at length to be satisfied, the shroff opened one of the rooms in the verandah where he had been seated, and brought out from it a bag of money, and from it counted out the exchange agreed upon. Thus the stranger knew the particular room that should be broken into. Some evenings subsequently, a gang of robbers rushed, with a lighted torch, into the premises at the usual *Khunjur* hour of night-fall. The Sahoocar was an aged man—his numerous clerks rose up and fled instinctively, but he got up and stood against the door of that money-room to guard it from plunder, and he was thereupon at once speared, and his young grandson also, who, on hearing the old man's heavy groans, had sprung to his assistance from an inner apartment; another man was speared dead outside of the premises, and four more received bad spear wounds. The robbers got away with their booty to their distant rendezvous scot free. The plunder consisted of a lot of gold twist (*kullábut*,) hard cash, and other valuables to the extent of 9000 rupees. The gang, all told, consisted of eleven men only, of whom only five were *Khunjurs*. Being at the moment short of hands, the leader had supplemented his *Khunjurs* with a small quota of *Lumbánee* robbers encamped in the neighbour-

hood of his own tándá. As stated in the Gudduc case (p. 158,) the entire gang, identical in both cases, Khunjurs and Lumbánees, was arrested under my personal conduct and tried and convicted. Two of the number were upon my committals for this and the subsequent business at Gudduc, hanged at Dharwar. They both were very desperate characters, and had always taken life on every occasion of dacoitie in which they had engaged, from their earliest career. One of them was the man who mercilessly killed the young lad who had, as above, rushed out to help his aged grandfather. I will append hereafter what I reported of the state of the country at this period, and on the subject of this dacoitie at Bhagulkote particularly.

[*Post-scriptum.*—The following is here introduced from the Report adverted to:—“An inhabitant of the tract of country that formed the beat or dacoit *preserve* appropriated by the two leaders, *Bálía* and *Núl Tookya*, has in the proceedings in that case, in speaking of the dangerous character of these dacoits, declared: ‘I swear by *Ishwur*, that what I have stated is truth; but should these people be informed of it, and at any time be released and come back, they will revenge themselves upon us and ruin us, and I mention this to the Sircár that precautions may be taken against them to enable the ryots to live out of fear’ (the probability of their release by the Appellate Court had been rumoured.) “Another in the same case declared that these dacoits ‘were always moving

The State
of the
Country
from
Brigand-
age.

about in harvest time, plundering the fields, the cultivators, from dread of their revengeful character, refraining from complaints against them,' adding that since the arrest of so many of them, 'no one's house was now robbed, everyone living at ease.' Another declared the robbers were 'always eating, and drinking, and squabbling—never labouring—their women extorting grain from the cultivators through the fear the tribe was held in.' In the same case the approver *Bheema* has detailed how, because a ryot, to prevent one of their women from carrying away the ears of corn she had been pilfering from his field, had snatched away a blanket from one of them, the act was 'taken to heart,' a gang was assembled at night, the entire threshing-floor plundered, and that man's life taken.

"And although represented by me (speaking of Khaikarees more particularly,) not to be a part of the system of the local dacoits of this Presidency to design murder, their outrages have, as my proceedings amply testify, been attended with violence and bloodshed, and often with murder.

"Plundered parties, crowding my court, have reiterated the statements already on the records of the local police magistrates, of the sudden rushing into their houses in the dead of night, of fierce men with muffled faces, or daubed with streaks of paint, holding lighted torches, and armed with swords or bludgeons; of the remorseless rapine they committed; of terrified wives and daughters with lacerated ears and nostrils,

injured wrists and ankles; of affrighted old men and women, and younger men with broken heads, or sore from blows and buffets; of doors and windows broken down; closets and boxes laid open and gutted; rooms rifled; their household gods desecrated, their sanctities invaded, and themselves ruined, often past redemption, by ruthless scoundrels, whose only excuse for such acts has been, *that such was their profession!* No succour at hand, the village guardians concealing themselves, the neighbours mute and in the deepest awe—they, in terror, had to succumb to the outrage and every indignity, uncared for—till the noise of shouts and musket-shots, the sounding of conchs and drums, and the bombastic *entrée* into the premises of the village authorities *now* come to assist them, made them feel some assurance of the robbers being really gone, and themselves left alive!

“In the *Bhagulkote* gang robbery (the deed of Kunkia’s gang,) the owner of the house, a rich banker, but a feeble and aged man, being speared by a dacoit, a young lad, his grandson and heir, rushed forward to hold up the murdered man:—‘Fifty rupees for you over your share if you kill him!’ cried out the Naik of the gang to one of the bandits, and the lad was slain on the spot! A nephew succeeded to the estate—two of the dacoits were hanged—the house was one day found in flames and was burnt to the ground—the nephew soon after died after a short illness. The husbandless survivors, forbidden by their laws to

re-married, and without any male heir, are now the sole representatives of the once flourishing firm !

“In the case of the *Kullôlee* gang robbery (by Khaikarees,) the plundered party declared that the robbers ‘ essayed in vain to withdraw from the wrists of his son (a young lad,) a pair of silver bracelets ’—a dacoit thereupon suggested that the boy’s hands should be lopped off; another, that his arms should be broken; a knife was produced, and the ruffians prepared to do the deed, but again endeavoured to get the bracelets off by other means—‘ they dragged and pulled at them, and then tried by applying oil; next they rubbed both arms over with rice-husks, and at last succeeded in getting possession of the coveted ornaments, but only after they had excoriated and lacerated the poor lad’s hands.’ They similarly treated a little boy in the *Butgeera* dacoitie (by Khaikarees,) and in the same way a young girl in a gang robbery in the Tanna Collectorate; and in a dacoitie at *Hutnee*, they were on the point of ‘ chopping off ’ the feet of another young girl in order to gain possession of a pair of silver chain anklets, but only desisted on being implored by her mother to refrain.

“For such acts of pillage, too, it has been exemplified *that others than the guilty parties have suffered* (*vide* footnote, p. 203.)

“It will have been perceived likewise, frequently in the cases sent up by me for trial, that the terror has been certified, which the people of the districts generally have been relieved from by the pro-

ceedings of this special department against these robbers:—‘People are now able to sleep,’ says one man in a case now under preparation; another, that ‘while the robbers were at large they inspired great fear, no one knowing what they might not be about; but that now no robberies took place, and the minds of the inhabitants were at ease.’

“Though such has been the testimony borne to the feeling of security evinced while the operations against the dacoits proceeded, on the other hand there was much alarm spread everywhere when it became known that several of them had been acquitted by the judges of the Higher Court: ‘Since’ (reports a police Amildar in a case now pending,) ‘the operations of the Thuggee Agency against the Khaikaree tribe, his district had enjoyed much prosperity, the ryots being happy, and, excepting that they were aware of the people of certain villages having been in concert with those robbers, there had been no fears anywhere; but that now, owing to the rumour that several of the robbers had been set at large, people had again begun to be alarmed,’ and that if I would ‘but take some effectual measures against the tribe, it would tend much to the comfort of the ryots, as a proof of the regard for them on the part of Government.’”⁹

⁹ P.S., 1889.—This referred to an order then recently received from the Superior Court for the release of some twenty-four to thirty dacoits, who, on committal from myself for trial, had been convicted and sentenced in a Regulation Court. I had them all re-arrested, one by one, as they emerged from the jail gate, and

Jail
Guards.

27th July.—A time back, when there was a dearth of Sepoys and a requirement put forth for their exclusive services for strictly military purposes under the new organization of the Native Army consequent upon the Mutiny, it was ordained, among other sweeping changes, that they should be no longer required to mount guard over jails, or supply escorts for purposes pertaining more, it was declared, to the duty of the Civil Police or Constabulary then lately formed in supersession of the old *Burkundúz* police system. Not that the Native Police were as yet at all fit to act as jail warders as at home, but because—*presto!*—they *ought to be*, and that to supply jail guards was considered in some degree to derogate from the *prestige* that belonged to or *should* surround the Native soldiery. By some, however, it was thought that this radical innovation in Sepoy uses was a return to those old pampering ways that had corrupted the old Sepoy Army, and had imbued them with that praetorian arrogance and sense of their importance which had led them to mutiny. I hear on this subject from a friend to-day, who is both an utilitarian and a financier, that those orders should be modified: they were, he wrote, all very well during the Mutiny and the times that immediately followed thereupon, but our Sepoys should be fully employed in time of peace in the now present all up for trial, upon fresh charges, under Act I. of 1849, to a Politico-Criminal Court, which was a *non-regulation* one, and they were not only again convicted and sentenced, one and all, to transportation beyond seas for life, but both conviction and sentence were confirmed by the local Government (*v.* p. 135 and footnote.)

scribed duties—what was the use of them, and why should they not be required to do something for their pay? It was, he added, going too far to say the practice destroyed discipline—they wouldn't *fight* any the worse, and if they could not fight, what was the use of them if their services were not to be utilized when they had nothing to do? If, too, they were brought again upon the duties they formerly were accustomed to, the police might in many districts be reduced, he thought, and State expenses be reduced, etc. In an unpublished memorandum of the great Sepoy Revolt, written in 1858, I said this *cottoning* to Sepoys, was one of the predisposing causes that had led up to it: "As if not enough that such indulgences" (some of which I narrated,) "should have crept into the service, it ensued that it was considered 'im-politic' to try the patience of our Sepoys by letting them come too frequently upon duty, and it was proposed to relieve them 'as much as possible from treasure and other escort duties' (as of escorting the baggage of their European officers while travelling on court-martial and other duties, through robber-infested regions, or on sick leave,) as well as 'from duties of guard and sentinel at the civil and military stations,' as being 'destructive of discipline'—that they should be brought on duty 'but every third or fourth day, except when actually in the presence of an enemy,' in order 'not to drive but to lead them': and it was deprecated too, that the discipline of European troops should be introduced among them, whether

Pamper-
ing our
Sepoyry.

on the march or in quarters, and advocated, on the contrary, to allow them even a latitude in foraging (military parlance for *looting*), on the ground, as stated in his 'Political Sketches' by Colonel Sutherland, from which I took up the contention, that there was 'an Asiatic sensitiveness about and propriety in the conduct of Sepoys, which rendered the roughness and severity observed towards European soldiers, offensive and unnecessary towards them'! Hence Sepoys become perfect hidalgos when abroad. Their demands were *law*," etc. I must, if I can find time, look over these old papers and journals in view to refurbishing them up for publication some day.¹

On the
same
Subject
in con-
nection
with the
Sepoy
Revolt.

¹ P.S.—In a research as to "the *leading causes* of an event productive of such dreadful calamities as those we have experienced by this great revolt," I find myself further writing in the language of the above quoted "Political Sketches," on this subject, in the unpublished document above adverted to in the text: "If it were said at the commencement, that the Sepoys resigned their actions to the behests of law and custom as imposed upon them by their creed, over the requirements of military discipline, we should in a few words be declaring the root of the evil we are about to discuss, namely, the *faulty discipline* of the Army that could suffer any consideration to be paramount to the demands of duty.*

* P.S.—The incident of a Havildar of a Bombay Native Regiment, being reduced to the ranks for having his face shaved in compliance with the behest of a priest at a temple where he had worshipped on the line of march, it being contrary to a regimental regulation to do so, will be in recollection (*vide* pp. 334, 335, vol. i.) In this case the commanding officer was reproved (I thought, justly rebuked for his harshness;) but in the present connection I subscribe to the principle, that however necessary it may be, even in matters of creed *versus* military discipline, "to hold checks over men in power, it is still more necessary to leave in the hands of officers commanding native regiments, the power to reward and to punish."

28th July, Sunday.—Dined last night, *impromptu*, with Major Goad at “Tally-ho Hall,” where *spolia opima* of the chase, and swords, guns, pistols, and spears, *dhul*, *tulwar* and *toofung* (shields, scimitars and matchlocks,) lay strewn about or hanging against the walls; and sporting pictures, and of favourite horses and dogs, abounded, each eliciting an anecdote characteristic of this fine but eccentric old retired Bengal Cavalry officer, here settled amongst his *Penates*, an extensive local house-owner, liberal landlord, and hospitable host—much given to hospitality indeed, but after his

Dinner at
a Friend's
House.

“This *indiscipline*, so to call it, the fruit of system, was linked with certain predisposing causes that, pointing out how easy it was to revolt and successfully to throw off foreign yoke, could scarcely fail to impress with baneful influence, minds already possessed by a haughty sense of superiority.

“These causes were affirmed in a very simple fact patent to everyone, namely (1) that ‘in this our Indian Empire, however inversely the process, yet equally calamitous as that which has been held up as the great evil of former Asiatic monarchies, a great policy was maintained which contented us, *our sea boards secure*, to strengthen our *frontiers* against invasion, but to leave our *centre*—our richest provinces, *their own Hindostan*—to be largely held by a Sepoy Army, amid peoples who, although on the whole passively contented with our rule, feared too much and held in awe that Sepoy force, not to be infected by its rebellion;’ and (2) that ‘throughout the dominion, from sea-board to frontier, the collection of revenue and administration of justice were at all times upheld and enforced by the presence of that force of pampered mercenaries, in provinces which, situated in the heart of the empire, were administered not by their foreign masters in person, but through a *native agency*, under no further superintendence than what a single European functionary was able to bestow over ten or twelve of such delegated instruments, holding each a jurisdiction over a vast district.’

“It was easy then for the Army by which such extensive regions were preserved, while under such imperfect supervision to perceive, and indeed it naturally followed that it should perceive its *strength* by the weakness of that of the Civil Authority.”*

*Memo.:
Taken
from my
Journal
of the
Persian
War, and
visit to
Babylon,
and from
“Political
Sketches”

The
Simlah
Scare, an
Incident
of the
Mutiny.

fashion—living in seclusion, yet daily to be seen riding, and riding well and as erect and self-possessed as any young Dragoon or Life Guardsman, some fine Arab horse or stout yaboo, along the narrow and winding bridle paths with which Simlah is entwined; a *beau-sabreur* too, whose insatiate sword left its mark on many an Afghan foeman in Pollock's avenging campaign up there, who, moreover, when the "Nusseree Battalion" (which, unhappily for it, comprised many Ghoorkas and hill men,) quartered on the *Jutôg* mountain neighbouring on Simlah, was shaky and wavered, and threatened to follow the mutinous example upheld by Native regiments in the plains, and a not very dignified flight from this imperial sanitarium was proposed (and by some indeed was carried out in an untellable manner,) drew forth and buckled on his rusty old cavalry sabre from its accustomed place of neglect, and stood at bay, urged on all to *stand by*, and succeeded in establishing a refuge point and a fronting face on a commanding spot, and threw heart and manliness into the small remaining European community and other local adherents (much needed where so many were helpless and alarmed women and children,) and loftily exclaimed "Let them come on!" They never came, but broke up and decamped down the hill, much to the relief of the determined little band he had inspired, and of the terrified ladies clustered on that selected and now historical hill-side. This grand though gruff old officer has a nephew in a Highland regiment now in India, and

a son who is a very promising officer in the Indian Police.² Of the two other guests at dinner one is said to be affianced to the lovely daughter who presided at the table.

On my return home, where I had left Hugh and his mother at a *tête-à-tête* dinner, I found both in great excitement and grief. Our beautiful bull terrier—pure white with a single dark patch over one eye—had been pounced upon close to the dining-room door, where a servant was cleaning up the plates, and been carried off up the overhanging hill, by a *Lukkur-pukkur* or ounce, whom no shouting could induce to drop his prey. It was useless in the dead darkness of the night, and where deep *khuds* interposed and precipitous hillsides, to carry on any search at that late hour, or think of any chance of rescuing the dog, who would too, by now have been securely taken into the cavernous depths of the forest-covered abyss by which Elysium Hill is surrounded*; so bemoaning only was left at the fate of our favourite. But Hugh and I searched about a great deal from dawn up to a late hour to-day in all directions, and down in the adjacent *khuds*, if perchance we should find some traces of poor “Black-Eye”—if only a foot or other betokening—but, no, he was clean gone. He had been playing and full of fun the moment

A Visit
from a
*Lukkur-
Pukkur*.

*P.S.—
Our house,
“Long-
wood,”
stood
upon this
hill. It
has since
been con-
verted
into an
hotel.

² P.S.—The nephew was killed in the recent second Afghan campaign, while serving in the Transport Corps and bravely defending his baggage charge. The son, *Horace Gould*, who had made his mark as a most efficient police officer (*vide* footnote p. 35, vol. ii.) left the Police Force on inheriting his father's estate at Simlah, a resignation that was much regretted on public grounds.

before. They are a nuisance, these *Lukkur-pukkurs*, and the mistake was to leave the dog, even for a moment of the dark night, or at all after dusk, unfastened or at liberty. The hill people are in the habit of placing a strong steel collar fretted with sharp spikes, round the necks of their dogs in their forest villages, or at their bivouacs in these mountains, as a security against these prowling night pests.

At evening to-day the oaks on our hill were taken unyielding possession of by a numerous troop of great brown monkeys of a large species, whom not all our other dogs with all their barking and chivying, nor our own shouts and molestations, served to frighten away; on the contrary, our dogs were taught to keep well distant, by a huge male *bundur* from amongst the invaders, leaping on to one of them, and severely biting him on his back—no chance of retaliation given to the angered bull terrier, for the ugly fellow was up a tree in a trice.

29th July.—Much rain. The wild beast with the iterating name, was up here again last night, prowling about in hope of getting another of our dogs.

Our Tômundár who has been watching the trial, reports to-day from Jeypore that all the Meena prisoners in the Mohunpoora dacoitie case (*vide* pp. 122, 178, vol. ii.,) have been convicted by the Court of trial composed of Wakeels presided over by Major Beynon, the local Political Agent, and that they have sent a messenger to him with offers of service as approvers; two had been sentenced to

Finding
in the Mo-
hunpoora
Case of
Dacoitie.

transportation for *twenty-one* years, four to transportation for *fourteen* years, four to *seven* years' rigorous imprisonment, and one man admitted as Queen's evidence; and further, that the courtier *Putteh Sing Khálóre*, their secret confederate (*vide* pp. 31 to 33 and footnote, vol. i., and 122, 178, vol. ii.) had been convicted of complicity, and his dismissal from the Ruler's service and expulsion from the territory recommended. This is too sweeping a condemnation to be at all acceptable, I fear, to the local Durbar or to the Ruler. The case has yet to be submitted for confirmation to the Higher International Court of Wakeels, assembled under the presidency of the Agent Governor-General, *Colonel Eden*.

The following is an example of Meena cunning in evading arrest, as taken from a report received to-day from the same intelligent native officer: "I learnt that *Agurjee Meena*, general number 7509, was concealing himself in a certain hamlet. I went there with some horse and footmen, taking with me the three informers and our Kaim-Khánee approver, *Jeevun Khan*, and accompanied by the Durbar official. We surrounded the dwelling where the fugitive was hiding under a feigned name. He leapt the wall and escaped into the inner apartments of the adjoining house of the village headman. The villagers hereon declared they would not permit any further search. The house of their headman could not be searched except under a special order from the Jeypore Durbar, and I was even asked by the official of the Durbar deputed to assist my command, 'whether I was

Arrest of
Agurjee
Meena
in
Woman's
Disguise.

come 'to plunder the village.' I felt sure the man was still in the place, as from our securely surrounding it, he had not yet had any opportunity for getting away. So I sent an approver lad who was with us, to join the boys of the place, and thus contrive to gain access into the premises of the village headman. He did so, and came back telling me that the fugitive was within, *disguised as a woman* and wearing women's *baugles* on his wrists! I thereupon went straight up to the house in person and demanded the custody of the refuged man, but was desired by the headman to *hold back*, 'the females of the family were inside, and he would kill me if I dared to approach any nearer.' I replied in the name of the Sirkár that, being accredited with a warrant to arrest certain criminals, I must insist on searching for the man. This was denied me by the same Durbar official, except I could produce a special written order from the Chief Minister of the State, and I was peremptorily ordered 'to step out of the way to allow the females of the house to come out of it.' This was towards morning. I had again secretly sent in the same lad, so I retired a few paces to one side. The females of the house now came out, the boy accompanying them, and when they were about to pass into another house, the boy cried out your name, and signing to me that the fugitive was among them, pointed him out to me. I thereupon stepped out and seized my man. He was indeed dressed up in woman's clothes, and I arrested him so attired. Sir, I would beg you to

consider how much the officials of the State are in this manner leagued with the dacoits and thwart us. The men appointed to accompany us, send word beforehand to the fugitives to conceal themselves, *pretending all the while to be on our side*, and the State officials expressly deputed to assist us by their presence with our arresting parties, similarly go along with us as if everything was all right and no obstruction to be apprehended.”³

30th July.—On the subject of the criminal condition of the Berars lately referred to (*vide* p. 211,)* in looking over to-day some old papers connected with that province, I find a memorandum by myself sent to the Resident at Hyderabad (the present Sir George Yule,) showing how when thuggee raged in Southern India, it was discovered by our special department that a rich Sahoocar residing at Oomraotee, a large and populous town and the principal cotton market of the province, often formerly raided by plundering hordes of Pindáries, was the prime mover in many of the cases of occurrence in that direction. It happened that some of his men coming up from Bombay with his goods, had been murdered by thugs on the way and the merchandise plundered.† Being a wealthy man he cast about in all directions for information, and at length succeeded in learning of the perpetrators, a gang of thugs some time infesting that highway and coolly located in the neighbourhood. They compromised the matter with him (as in the

* *Vide also, Postscriptum memo., p. 213, vol. ii.*

How Thuggee was fostered of old in Berar.

† *Vide allusion to the circumstance, p. 192, vol. i.*

³ P.S.—Agurjee Meena was afterwards sentenced to life transportation.

case of the dacoitie at Ootradapet (*vide* pp. 182, 190, 193, vol. i.) by paying over to him a sum of money much in excess of the value of the property he had been plundered of. He perceived how *easily* the amount was made good, and how profitable was the trade the thugs carried on. A thug was not indeed worth his salt if unable to talk over and cajole anyone, so the thug Jemadars had no difficulty in gaining over the covetous Sahoocar to keep their counsel *and join them*, and he thereupon not only became their general receiver, his reputed *respectability* enabling him to be so, but he used to give the thug leaders information of the despatch from Bombay and other centres, of goods or treasure by other Sahoocars in their business transactions, the carriers or convoys of which the thugs would thereupon waylay and murder, making over the plunder to him, bringing in the goods or bullion and specie they got, straightway to his place at Oomraotee as if he was the consignee thereof and themselves the servants he had employed to convey them ! So thus the present way of procedure is an old game ! The rogue was in the end taken up by the Nizam's Durbar and made to disgorge a large amount as an equivalent for immunity, but what eventually became of him the record did not show.

31st July.—Among other guests at dinner with us last night, were Mr. and Mrs. Dietrich Brandis. He is at the head of the Department for the Conservation of Forests, and although an Hungarian by birth, he has several English officers serving

under him in subordinate grades, a very intelligent gentleman, but speaking English imperfectly and with foreign accent.

Not often, but with unpleasant recurrence when it does occur, and always with disturbing attendants, life is taken among our employés, the deed of a companion, the true motive for which is not easy to fathom, the impulses of natives being sudden, their modes of thought unsearchable—their revenge often terrible. But the present criminal was no half-crazy fellow, but one who had brooded over something more, I cannot but believe, than what only wrath could have prompted—to have been reported to his officer for remissness while on duty, being the supposed reason for the deed. Rage, suppressed and silent, and not mere anger, must impel a man to so cowardly an act as to attack as he slept, another, who, although in rank above him, was still his comrade.⁴ Nujjeeb

The
Murder by
a Nujjeeb
of a
Thuggee
Police
Duffadar.

⁴ P.S.—How different, though not always, the European on similar occasions—not that I would in cases of prepenso bloodshedding, draw a line between the perpetrators: Private McGuinness, of the Artillery company on garrison duty in the Fort of Belgaum, had been reported by his serjeant-major for slovenliness as sentinel at the Arsenal Gate—he had not promptly enough challenged the approaching “rounds.” His entreaty to be “let off this time” the punishment (a slight one) the officer commanding the company had awarded him, not being attended to, he was seen on his return to barracks, to dash his violin to pieces—a sure symptom in like cases of desperate pre-determination, but which unfortunately was not heeded—for he was very fond of the instrument and a proficient player. At night he stole into the serjeant-major’s quarters and awoke him. The latter got up from his pallet, quickly took in the situation, laid hold of the man and struggled with him; but the other drew a bayonet from under his cloak and stabbed him with it—the wound was mortal, the serjeant-major died almost immediately. The murderer

Account
of the
similar
Murder
of a
Sergeant-
Major of
Artillery.

Bhuggit Sing had been reported by his Duffedar, a Mahomedan, for sleeping at his post—a grave yet not an unusual, though a seldom offence among native policemen. He had yet to appear before the officer under whose orders he was employed, but pending which he should have been placed under arrest, and not have been brought on duty until the alleged dereliction had been inquired into and disposed of. He was, however, put upon duty, and a few nights ago, was the sole sentinel of the post where the guard he belonged to was located, a *serai* within the city of Allahabad, where

was speedily tried by a court-martial, and was hanged in the presence of the assembled troops. He stated he could easily have slain his victim without detection, but that he did not like to kill a sleeping man—it was repugnant to him—so he awoke him to give him a chance against himself. On the scaffold he admitted the justice of his doom, and begged all comrades to forgive him if he had ever offended any of them. Several of the men fell out from the ranks from emotion. I was at Belgaum at the time. The regiment to which I belonged, the present 106th, was also quartered there in the cantonments outside of the Fort, but I was not then employed with it. It happened that our own serjeant-major was the guest, on two days' leave, of the murdered Artillery serjeant at his quarters inside of the Fort, and occupied the other's cot in its usual place, the latter sleeping on a borrowed one, and our serjeant-major was very nearly mistaken for the intended victim. The prisoner said he first went up to where he lay, but perceiving by the night lamp that he was not his man, stepped across to the other. The deceased serjeant-major was greatly esteemed by his officers, and used often to be brought on duty as officer for the day and to take the night rounds. It was discovered among his private papers, that he was the son of a gentleman of position named Seymour, and had run away from home as a youth, and enlisted under an assumed name—not an infrequent occurrence in the European corps of the old East India Company's Service. We had two or three such gentlemen in the ranks of our own regiment. It has been remarked that such waifs and strays have generally turned out good soldiers, and have often risen to commission rank.

this party of Thuggee Police had lately arrived with approvers from Agra. The hour was between 3 and 4 a.m. Feeling himself struck, the Duffedar got up from his *charpai* or bedstead in an inner room of the serai, but being dazed for the moment, stumbled and fell upon the one next to it upon which another Nujjeeb was sleeping. This startled the latter, whose immediate impulse was to throw his arms round the man, supposing him in the darkness to be some midnight thief; and he was by this action himself disabled by a severe sword blow on an arm, intended for the fallen man. The murderer then fled outside, but being pursued by the Duffedar and grappled with, he slashed at the latter fiercely, delivering him several sword-cuts, the last sure blow slicing off a portion of his head. The poor man had shouted for assistance, and a police patrol coming up, the assassin was secured. The victim having been conveyed to the city dispensary, and the Joint-Magistrate summoned to him, he was only just able to declare to the latter, that *Bhuggut Sing* had been his assailant, and then expired. I don't know—I may think it—probably I do—but I have wondered whether it occurred to Captain Dennehy, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, to whom as head of the local detective department the Thuggee Police Guard was attached, to say *cherchez la femme*, to those about him! The murderer declared it was easy for him to have slain the Duffedar outright as he slept, but his deep desire was to hack him with sword-cuts before

he perished : “ had he a hundred lives (he said,) I would have taken them all : ”

*

“ One to destroy is murder by the law ;
And gibbets keep the lifted hand in awe ;
To murder thousands takes a specious name,
War's glorious art, and gives immortal fame.”⁵

Dacoities
in the
Punjab.

Criminal
Tribes in
the
Punjab.

1st August.—The Punjab now so efficiently and quietly governed, and in the matter of dacoities become quite a model province, I am surprised at getting anything in that way from there ; but I suppose some late disquieting disturbances at Lahore, gave an opportunity to *try it on* in that neighbourhood, a report from there saying that some marauders a few nights back, set upon and plundered a party of men, women and children, while travelling in the direction of *Amritsir* in a conveyance drawn by bullocks, called a *bylee*. The gang got clear away with its booty. Perhaps the people variously called *Hárboorahs*, *Sánsces* or *Sánsyas*, *Bowreas* and *Hárnces*, all more or less belonging to the same gipsy tribe, lower down recognized as the *Khunjurs* (vide footnote, p. 386, vol. i.,) form the principal criminal classes in the interior of the province ; *Meos*, *Mewátees*, *Ráungurs* and *Mernas* infesting its borders on the plains, and raiding round about there ; and some *Muzbees* (the old local thug class,) lurking about criminally intent when unable to find employment—which is unusual, the latter being a very useful people, and just now in requisition as muleteers for service in Abyssinia. Besides these there are

⁵ P.S.—The murderer was executed not long after.

the *Goozurs*, who are a race of active night thieves largely located round about Delhi ; the *Beloochees* so called, who pilfer in the region of Sháhábád ; some *Uaboolies*, who try a “ ‘prentice han’ ” at crime in our plains ; and certain frontier tribes like the *Swátees* and other inhabitants of independent territory who raid on our upper frontier borders : but all have been unusually quiet. I notice that according to the statistical returns I have been preparing, “dacoitie,” so technically designated, numbered no more than *twenty-one* cases throughout the Punjab in 1864 ; *twenty-five* in 1865 ; *sixteen* in 1866 ; and that at this date, no more than three or four have taken place during the present year.

2nd August.—The Bank of Bombay, which went disrupt not long ago (*vile* pp. 17, 23, vol. ii.,) much to the blame of the Bombay Government as its directors, has been resuscitated, or is trying to be so, a *new* Bank of Bombay having published a prospectus which offers favourable terms to those who will take shares in it. My own losses in the matter of shares in it did not amount to much, yet as money was lost on its failure, and also the whole of our shares when the Agra Bank failed, I feel like a bitten man, and will no more meddle with such enterprises—*sunt mala plura*.

Still some cases of cholera at Simlah ; but it has been raining a good deal, which may serve to drive away the evil.

3rd August.—The “Times of India” has returned to the subject of mulcting native rulers for

Compensation for
Mail
Robberies
in Native
States.

robberies of Government mails while in transit through their territories (*vide* p. 96, vol. ii., and its references.) On the present occasion it has, I think, been inspired in view to *tone down* its previous denunciation of that measure, the present leading article in that journal saying, that having since seen all the papers relating to the subject, “we are able to discriminate between the policy itself and the application, or rather the *modification* of it (as the editor terms it) with which Sir John Lawrence is personally concerned.” The old rule was, as before noticed (*vide* p. 134, vol. i.,) that Native States were held answerable for the safe transit of the public mails through their territories, liable to fine if the letter mails were carried off, and responsible for the value of all plundered goods, each case “to be decided upon its own merits.” Lord Dalhousie, as Governor-General, was disposed to relax the stringency of these rules, but had not done so—and there was a feeling later on, that the irritation they caused possibly contributed “to the great surge of revolt.” But when order was restored, it was resolved to deny compensation for costly articles lost in transit by post, and *not* to hold Native States responsible for the robbery thereof—palpably an indication of a softened tone resulting from the revolt, and, a desire to steer void of giving further offence. This was on the advice of *Outram*, in his place of Member of Council at Calcutta. But this countermanding of the old practice, this *reculade*, did not serve to discourage the transmission by post of things of value, or to

stay the robbery of them. Bullion and jewellery and precious fabrics, continued to be entrusted to the public post, senders preferring to take their chance of the safety thereof, speed being gained thereby, and the greater expense avoided of employing special carriers after the manner of their own old method of remittance and despatch ; while to be excused restitution, led native rulers to relax in their measures of protection, or at any rate to care little whether such things were plundered or not, and at the same time encouraged dacoits to waylay the mails. When the present Viceroyn entered his high office, the safety of the mails became a burning question from the frequency of the plunder of them, some examples of which I have narrated * (*vide* margin ;) for the robbery * *Vide, ex gr., pp. 34 to 38. 326, 341, and 364, vol. i.* of their things of value, contraband of the postal rules, was felt by the senders only—the loss of letters and public despatches, and of books and manuscripts, was a public nuisance. So it was resolved to revert to the old rule which held native governments responsible for the robbery of goods, whether of the prohibited sort or not, and which imposed fines upon them when letters were plundered, with this exception, however, that exemption from compensation was claimable where the local police arrangements for the security of the mails, were considered to have been reasonably calculated to protect them. Senders of articles in violation of the postal rules, were still, however, *not* themselves to be compensated for the loss of them, the object being to discourage such transmissions ; but

the so-called "compensation" realized was to be applied to such improved local police arrangements as should be recommended by the local British Political Officers. Some "modification" in these hard and fast rules, was, however, assented to on the representations of the high Political Officers opposed to them, of whom I have noticed the objection raised by Sir George Yule (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) I have also mentioned what I had myself recently represented of the umbrage they occasioned to native princes (*vide* p. 133, vol. i.) It has now eventually been decided to forego the right to levy the fine on account of lost letters, but the duty to protect the mails was insisted upon; every State was held responsible for their secure passage through its respective territories, and its police arrangements for that purpose were to be made more efficient; "compensation" was to be levied by rulers themselves on the districts to which the plunderers should be traced, full value of the things plundered being reckoned to be included within the assessment fixed upon, even should they have been prohibited articles transmitted at the risk of the owners thereof. It is not, however, stated how the proceeds should be applied.⁶

The
greater
Security
of the
Mails
aimed at.

The aim of these rules is, it is added, the greater security of the public mails, although, as may be

⁶ P.S.—I have before noted that it was subsequently ordered that the "compensation" levied should be formed into a fund for the relief of the widows or families of the postal employes killed in such mail robberies, or who should be maimed or injured (*vide* footnote p. 45, vol. i.) a most excellent alternative application of the proceeds.

discerned, native rulers or their officials will not be slow to perceive that they open out to them a latitude for extortion in levying the stipulated compensation from their own subjects on occasions of the plunderers being traced to their limits and the tracks not carried beyond them. I say nothing here of the fact, having already remarked upon it (*vide* p. 136, vol. i.,) that these acts of plunder have, in frequent instances, been planned *in our own territories*, through the intelligence kept up between the plunderers and their confederates among the employés of the despatching offices. The registers kept in my office exhibit the names of several such partisans, not only in postal but in other public offices, as well as in our police establishments, in some of our cavalry corps and in mercantile firms, broadcast about the country, and also among the people acting as *gate-keepers*, that indispensable class of premise guards at Calcutta best known as *durwáns*—the *concierges* of continental Europe.

The Bombay *Times* winds up its remarks on the subject with the following endeavoured *amende*:—
 “In formerly speaking of these proposals we assumed that they represented the views of the present Viceroy, who, during a former part of his career, was disposed to push to an extreme the claims of the paramount power in its dealings with our allies and tributaries. There have been, we think, many indications that, with growing experience of the weight of high political responsibility, Sir John Lawrence has acquired a juster sense of the political rights of native princes, and

The
 “Times
 of India”
 on the
 Subject.

has been more inclined to exhibit that considerate forbearance which is the fitting temper of irresistible power; and we are glad to find that in this little matter of the rules respecting mail robberies in Native States . . . he leaned to the side of those political officers who, while they have exerted every effort to induce the chiefs to keep up efficient police, would do away with the idea of fine and penalty altogether.”⁷

The
Evening
Sermon.

4th August, Sunday.—Still much rain, and we have had a bad landslip on the public mall. To church at evening service, when we had a right down exosseous sermon from Mr. Baly—devoid of the usual dry bones altogether, but replete with animation and quickening adornment.

Simlah
Servants.

Mr. Jones, the intelligent police officer for Simlah, dined with us last night. He gave us an amusing account of the rascalities of the native servants come up with their employers from stations in the plains, their many cunning tricks and devices in cheating and pilfering, and how much they ill-conduct themselves, ayahs, sweepers, and jánpán-bearers more often, towards ladies who have come up without their husbands, and the trouble they give him. I fear he is in a very delicate state of health.⁸

5th August.—From Mr. Wyllie, of the Bombay

⁷ P.S.—There presently appeared a notice in another local journal, that the “penalties levied” were to be paid into a local fund to meet expenses for the better security of the mails, but it was subsequently otherwise ruled, as stated in footnote at p. 244, vol. ii.

⁸ P.S.—This excellent young fellow died shortly after of a rapid decline.

Civil Service, lately *pro tem*. Foreign Secretary, one of the foremost of our clever "Competition-wállahs" (a son of my old acquaintance in Scinde, Colonel Wyllie, of the Bombay Army,⁹) we have an official memorandum on the subject of our alliances with foreign Native States, and of the treaties with the independent hill chieftains both in this direction and on our extreme barrier frontiers. It was not much to be told that these border tribes arrogated to themselves a high-handed and insolent independence, and raided our marches on desperate forays intent, after the manner of "moss-trooping Scots" of old time; but Mr. Wyllie lays it down as a present moral obligation on our parts, to endeavour to civilize the barbarous races and educate them, and to establish schools for them, to distribute troops along our borders and erect barracks, etc., in view to induce them, "*sua si bona norint*," to peaceful frontierzen-ship. Not so fast, dear sir! Excellent, if we could reckon on the results! but I fear that yet for a long time, nothing but *kázi-ool-hoojját*, or the arbitration of the sword, will suffice to reduce them to order or amendment.¹

*Sua si
bona
norint.*

The
Sword
the
Arbiter.

6th August.—More precise information is telegraphed from home connected with the *Jerris*

⁹ P.S.—The present General Sir William Wyllie, G.C.B. His talented son died early. P.P.S.—The veteran Sir William was also gathered this year, 1891.

¹ P.S.—I once met with a finely-watered Damascene blade, much coveted by me and afterwards acquired by a foreign prince who was travelling in India—a cousin of our Queen—with the above fitly-conceived Arabic epithet, "arbiter of all wants," a veritable *nom de guerre*, inscribed upon the back of it.

The
Jervis
Court-
Martial.

court-martial. We have the heads of a reprimand from the Duke of Cambridge to Sir William Mansfield, conveyed it seems some time back and now only divulged on its being laid before Parliament, and that the adjudged officer was "allowed" to retire with a bonus of 1800*l.* as the price of his commission, *payable from the revenues of India.* Opinions are divided on the subject. For one, I have thought the Chief should rather have been supported. For, although I might have inclined to the position, that simple dismissal from his personal staff of the erring aide-de-camp—"Cassio, I love thee, but never more be officer of mine"—would have been a more dignified course at the outset of the profitless contention ; still there was no question of the gross insubordination displayed, and *that one fact* should have been disconnected from all the side issues with which the inquiry was so unnecessarily burdened, and which were so disparagingly weighed against the course pursued by the high and distinguished officer answerable for upholding the discipline of the service. Indeed, I should have supposed that he exhibited more moral courage, in the sense he entertained of that great duty being paramount to every personal consideration, whereby he preferred to submit himself to censure rather than that the conduct he complained of should pass unnoticed, than had he ignobly sheltered himself from public inquiry by simply sending the transgressor, whom he had so long trusted, to the *right about*, as he might easily have done.

Other jobations follow suit in the same telegram—the opinion of Government at home reflecting on the action taken, or rather the inadequate prevision grasped, by Sir Cecil Beadon and other officials concerned, in meeting the late distressful Famine in *Orissa*, being of the number and creating much dismay among the chastised ones. Of course, the Secretary of State was all wrong—“badly advised”—and all that !

Decision
on the
Orissa
Famine.

7th August. — Attended a lecture by Colonel Henry Norman on the Relief of Lucknow. One of the many anecdotes recounted was characteristic of the British ‘ar. Attracted by a succession of deep thudding sounds, Norman, on entering the court-yard of a mosque from where they proceeded, observed in sole occupation, a powerful bearded sailor belonging to the gallant Naval Brigade, again and again uplifting a huge cannon-ball of the many lying about, shot and shell, and wrathfully throwing it down upon the beautifully tessellated marble pavement of the enclosure, on slab after slab thereof, and vengefully and with deep but satisfied utterance, delivering himself of “heave” each time he did so ; who explained as his reason for the desecration and vandalism, that he was “not going to suffer such lubberly scoundrels to pretend to be of a religious lot !” The last glorious assault and on-rush had then just taken place, and the city finally recaptured. “Loot” was not in the honest fellow’s thoughts ! I was glad to find the lecturer giving full credit to *Outram’s* dashing conduct. Some feelings of

A Lecture
on
Lucknow
(Anecdote).

Ontram
at
Lucknow.

jealousy, in minds ordinarily superior to such bias, have led to much unmerited reticence in regard to his conspicuous gallantry and noble bearing on every occasion at Lucknow, whether of advance, siege, or besiegement; or in the splendid interlude at *Alumbágh* hard by it, where Outram with his handful of troops kept the British flag flying, and routed the hosts of the enemy on every attempt to dislodge him or vauntingly to provoke him to combat—a challenge never, to their cost, declined—after the bulk of the great army corps had *retired* (even if only to return anon in renewed strength,) and had left him there, albeit his own chivalrous choice, *alone*! For the Baronetcy came tardily, as though only from an after inspiration and of a relenting impulse. *The Victoria Cross was dear Outram's only coveted guerdon, and would have been his fitting meed.*

The Agra
High
Court on
Meenas
detected
at Ajmere.

8th August.—A time back the quotas of three distinct leaders of Meena robbers banded together for dacoitie, were detected, through the intelligence kept up by Captain Shuttleworth the local police officer (formerly of the “Black Watch,”) secret-
ing themselves in the city of *Ajmere*, with the connivance, too, of some members of the local police and of other official employés. The prisoners were shortly after arrest examined by myself at Ajmere, and were recognized by the approvers with whom they were confronted, to be mostly Meenas belonging to the colony of that tribe inhabiting *Shájánpoor* in British territory, that remarkably isolated strip of country surrounded by

Native States, and situated near Goorgaon of Delhi (*vide* pp. 317, 327, 439, vol. i.) That outlying district being notoriously a very nest and a meeting-place of Meena dacoits, and Ajmere very distant from it, the arrested parties were unable to explain away the false names and habitations with which they had endeavoured to pass themselves off, or, when called upon, to give a sufficient reason for their being so far away from their home, where, as was proved, they were due to be "present" for roll call—then additionally required of all Meenas professing to reside there, except they should obtain permission to be absent from the scrutiny on the ticket-of-leave system then lately introduced. Implements for committing dacoitie were discovered concealed about the places they had occupied, and being charged with assembling and making preparation to commit dacoitie, they were, after trial in the Court of the Deputy Commissioner for the district, sentenced, one and all, to rigorous imprisonment for seven years. Their purpose was *dacoitie*, as was afterwards more unquestionably established upon the confessions to us of some of their number. They had then very recently already committed two authenticated acts of dacoitie in the same neighbourhood, obtaining booties on each occasion, valued at 18,000 rupees and 8000 rupees respectively ; and they had two other enterprises on hand (as afterwards admitted to us,) one the plunder of a rich convoy of treasure then about to be despatched from Ajmere, and the other to sack the premises or *kôthee* of the re-

mitter himself, an influential native banker in the same city, *who was even the Treasurer of the Governor-General's Agent for the States of Rajpootanah, Colonel Eden!* A great deal more was elicited in our subsequent investigations into the criminal career of each individual member of the arrested lot, and I had been congratulating myself, that for the present at least, they were shut off from doing further mischief—it being something gained to have, at a single haul, got so many dangerous fellows safely *put by* and prevented for a time at least, from carrying on more, and I had only just included a full account of the circumstances in the Dacoitic Statements of the period, when, lo! a rumour reaches us, that the High Court at Agra had taken up the case on the petitions of three men of the number belonging to the Ajmere Police (who had aided and abetted the dacoits,) and that the chances now were, that, on technical grounds, the liberation of all would be recommended! Of course, my office will first be referred to by the local Government, to show cause against the measure, but I shall have to struggle hard to stay it.

The
Police
Super-
intendent
of Khan-
desh.

Recap-
ture of
two of the
rescued
Prisoners.

9th August.—Two letters from *Oliver Probyn* of the Khandeish Bheel Police, on the subject of the revelations which he reports, of the fellows lately captured down there (*vide* pp. 177, 182, vol. ii.,) and of the arrest among them of *two* out of the four prisoners rescued last November from Ward's custody at Jalnah, one of them named *Ooda* being the man who was irregularly released and whose

recapture I had requested. He is now known to be of the number who, in a dacoitie down there, were suspected *from their shoe-prints* to be no local robbers (*vide* p. 347, vol. i.) I have telegraphed to give him a small present from myself for "value received;" for he had told us where to find the other captured fugitive *Jowahirra*. Not that I did not know that Ooda was altogether the rogue he was trying to make out *he was not*, in view to hoodwink us, but only to let him suppose that he was still gulling us with his twisted stories, and thus be led on, by his sure entanglements, to disclose further clues to and give us a little more information of his associates, and where to lay hands upon them. This on the diamond-cut-diamond plan. It will then be time enough to reveal to him our knowledge of himself. At present he supposes we know him not.—Probyn confirms, in his other letter, the duplicity of the man *Jeewun Sing* before often enough mentioned (*vide* pp. 164, 190, 191, vol. i., and 22, 32, 73, vol. ii.) This man, locally notorious as a dacoit confederate, had been taken into the Nagpore Police for his "excellent acquaintance" with dacoitie doings, soon after his other equally artful and equally notorious *confrère*, but not his friend, named *Choutmull* (also before mentioned—*vide* pp. 164, 182, vol. i., and 33, 75, vol. ii.) had also been taken into the twin police force of Berar. I had hinted to the heads of the local police, our information that they both harboured dacoits, but the former man nevertheless incontinently appeared at Indore on the declared de-

Robber
Confederate
among
Police
Constables.

Their
doubtful
Co-operation.

puted purpose of searching out the perpetrators of the treasure dacoitie near Burwai, near Khündwah, of occurrence last February (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.,) of whom it was stated he had already arrested some (whether real or supposed we have yet to see.) But Thompson, my assistant for the Central India States, was, as I have before said, at Indore (*vide* p. 22, vol. ii.,) and as the approvers with him claimed the man as more or less their associate, he forthwith had him arrested ; but waiting to obtain more certain information of his complicity, and because the Chief of the Police in which he was employed wished it, I had ordered his release (p. 34.) It now, however, comes out from the disclosures made to Probyn by *Jowahirra*, the other recaptured fugitive, that these charges were not without foundation, and I am ourious to learn something on the subject from Ward at Jalnah, to whom I have to-day ordered all the prisoners to be transferred.

Amateur
Actors
and the
Theatre
at Simlah.

10th August.—There being no *troupe* this year of professional actors at Simlah, some amateurs among the local European shopkeepers and clerks, last night performed with great success, the “Two Bonnycastles” and a “Burlesque of Shylock” before a full house. The Simlah “Theatre” so called, is, however, a miserable construction with a low flat pitch-plastered roof, and placed down in a *khul* below the native bazaar, ill-ventilated and badly devised, not a decoration in it, and the scenery arrangements mean and insufficient. To suggest, with bated breath, the erection of a *State Theatre*, worthy of this Viceregal place of residence,

The
Erection
of a State
Theatre
sug-
gested.

would be to be condemned past redemption ; yet why not have such a structure, if the public amusement is the public health—and the “drama an intelligence” ? The present building being already much *tarred*, it only remained to *feather* it also—hence this gibbeting and detraction.

11th August, Sunday, Simlah.—Hugh and I dined at the Simlah Club last night. To church for evening service.

12th August.—Wrote to Probyn thanking him for his “very valuable co-operation at all times.” We are gradually coming from one gang to another of the perpetrators of the heavy treasure and other Regarding Treasure dacoities down in Berar and the Central Provinces, Dacoities in Berar and the Central Provinces. the deed of robbers from afar and not of local organizations. The latter collapsed the moment the local police was doubled, and the European superintendence considerably augmented (*vide* p. 211;) but to trace the distant-living bandits, and bring them to account sooner or later, is our work (*vide* P.S. p. 213, vol. ii.)

13th August.—I have twice mentioned trails Successful Trail through Scent of Opium. followed by *scent*—one in a poisoning case through the subtle perfume of some stolen extract of the *keora* flower or spikenard (p. 161,) and the other of a dacoitic through the pervading odour of some plundered musk or *kustooree* (p. 158.) Here is another successfully followed up by the *smell of opium*. A quantity of that valuable drug was plundered by some Mooltanee dacoits in March last, from a train of bullock carts while under convey from Rutlám, as before noted (p. 336, vol. i.) Assailed in the dark with a shower of stones, the

men in charge and the cart drivers immediately ran away, and the robbers carried off and buried their plunder. Intercepted on suspicion as some of the gang were hastening by a village at break of day, as already told (p. 336,) it was perceived that their clothes smelt strongly of the drug. The footsteps of the plunderers were next carried from the place of the robbery up to a spot in the dry bed of the river, on the way to which *opium* was found to have been recently buried, and thus the arrested parties, seven in number, found themselves in a plight. They had reason then to be astonished on being told, after all this, that the magistrate had *acquitted them!* But as I had received information of their arrest, and our approvers of the same tribe had claimed them, recognizing two of the number as previously registered dacoits, and another as but recently let out of jail after undergoing punishment for a previous opium dacoitie, I was able to intervene and to direct their transfer to our custody. Before that could be carried out, however, five men of the lot effected their escape from the local police, including the above three recognized accomplices of approvers, so that thus only two have reached Ward at Jalnah, and these two fellows have confessed to him as many as thirteen similar acts of dacoitie committed within the last few years in Khandeish and Malwah, *the recent or Rutlám case being one of the number*, and to belong to a large gang of Mooltanee plunderers located in Baroda territory. They declare, however, that in the particular case

under notice, their plunder consisted of five chests of opium, *not two only*, the whole of the contents of which, they add, they had buried together in the dry bed of the *Soor* river (but where that quantity was not professed to have been found,) “each chest consisting of from seventy to eighty lumps or balls of the drug, weighing each a *seer* or a couple of pounds,” a much more valuable prize than what, it will be recollected, was declared to have been exhumed ; so that someone must have got considerably enriched by the treasure trove !²

But we have received a report of another more recent act of dacoitie in Khandeish, which I only note because of its being the deed of *Khaikárees*, the professional dacoit race described before (pp. 347, 348, vol. i.) The owner of the house attacked, awoke at midnight by his hearing footsteps outside of it, and on coming out by the door, was forthwith seized and held down, while the rest of the robbers rushed into the house, and, blowing a hitherto suppressed torch held inside of an earthen vessel into a flame, proceeded by its light to plunder the place of whatever came to hand. This is often the way with *Khaikáree* robbers when engaged in an act of gang burglary, as often demonstrated in my reports of their doings. They go intending to commit a noiseless robbery, but prepared to convert it into one with open violence with lighted torches, if at all resisted or not readily able to

A Dacoitie
by Khai-
kárees.

² P.S.—The two confessing prisoners above alluded to (*Mogul and Imam*,) were later on sentenced in the Court of the Resident at Hyderabad, each to ten years’ transportation.

effect a stealthy entrance into the premises. They are identical with the "Kul-Kowrees" and "Korwurroos," with other *alias* denominations, infesting Mysore and Madras territory and the entire southern peninsula (*vide* p. 347.) Two of the culprits in the above case have been locally arrested and sentenced.³

Bheels.

³ P.S.—There was a good deal of crime in Khandeish in the year 1867, whether dacoities or "robberies," chiefly the deed of *Bheels*, which *Major Oliver Probyn*, the highly efficient Police Superintendent of the district, attributed in a great measure to the restrictions imposed upon *wood-cutting* in the *Satpoora Hills* and jungles occupied by the race on the borders of Khandeish. He said the Bheels had enjoyed the privilege of cutting timber in them from time immemorial. It was their chief means of subsistence, and that their complaints against the innovation were constant. He also ascribed the great oppression practised by the local traders (Sowcars) and village headmen in their dealings with the Bheels, as an additional operating cause: "No one who has had but little intercourse with Bheels can form any idea of the extent to which they are cheated, I might say *robbed* by the local Sowcars," and "entangled in the meshes of false accounts and extorted bonds," they are compelled by these creditors "to live on mere pittance, barely sufficient to support existence." The small advances originally made to them become standing debts, and being rarely paid off, "the Sowcars will yearly carry away almost all the grain the Bheels may have grown, and occasionally seize also the bullocks which have enabled them to cultivate the ground which had produced the seed just taken possession of. Was it to be wondered at that these Bheels betook to robbery?" Major Probyn added that in several of the robberies committed during the year by Bheels, the chief plunder had been found to be *the bonds which the Sowcars had extorted from them!* The district magistrate, *Mr. G. F. Sheppard*, a very able Civil Officer, observed to this, that the causes above assigned for the frequency of the robberies, were doubtless in some degree applicable—that the measures of Forest Conservation of late years adopted, no doubt resulted in certain hardships, but that the evil had been great which arose from indiscriminate cutting down of forest, which must soon have exhausted the supply now that the demand for timber had of late so much increased; and he anticipated of these measures that in the end the result would be

We dined last night with the Durands at their house, "The Observatory." I took Lady Durand to table. Sir Henry, in conversation with me, defended the policy of not taking up any positions above the passes, of late so much advocated in some quarters. He said we could at any time easily move up into Afghanistan, and that in his opinion the day of conflict with the Russians in that direction, was very distant. I would distinguish his rôle as one of *disciplined inaction*.

14th August.—Last night we dined at "Woodville" with the Commander-in-Chief and Lady Mansfield. Sir William seemed very thoughtful. He had indeed but just seen a telegram from home announcing that General Peel, the Minister for War, had declared in Parliament, that if he had known that the Duke of Cambridge's reprimand to Sir William in the *Jervis case* would be published, he would have advised his Excellency's recall. I don't think Sir William need much care—"rail on!"

The telegram was made known to the community in the course of to-day. It stated that a debate in the House had resulted in the rejection (by not

beneficial, and that he thought that by the system of Tuggái,* * Tuggái which had been extended to them by Government, the Bheels (or more generally were improving. I believe, however, that with the exception of those enrolled in the Bheel Corps, the condition of the poor Bheel, whether in Khandeish or those of the Bheel Páls of Pertabghur and Sirohi, and about Neemuch, or in other fastnesses possessed by the tribe, to be still very much the same as described by Bishop Heber—impoverished and scantily clad, and "thieves and savages" to the present date. This would seem to be the common fate of all aboriginal races. (*Vide Heber's Journal*, vol. ii. p. 495.)

a very large majority,) of a motion to petition Her Majesty to restore Captain Jervis. The Chief was, it is said, quite himself again, and in good spirits, while at the Council Board at "Peterhoff" to-day. Perhaps he thinks, and thinks correctly, that General Peel's observations were intended to force upon Parliament the production of his rejoinder to the Duke's reprimand—a very ably drawn up document I understand.

15th August.—It being a Hindu festival and the office establishment on leave in consequence, I made several calls to-day, and at evening we had a party to dinner at home.

16th August.—An expedition to Abyssinia to rescue the British subjects there defiantly held in captivity by the *Négus*, is now a certainty, and is now openly talked of. C. Blair writes, the rumour of it down in Rajpootanah, is, that it was to be a "reconnoitring party" only, and that several officers from Rajpootanah were under orders to join it. Here we know a little more of the preparations, reticent as those who know all would be. The expedition is to consist of a large force from the Bombay Army, under the personal command of Sir Robert Napier, the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay.

James
Blair and
the
Môghyas.

James Blair, who has returned from his short furlough home, has relieved C. Blair, who was acting for him as my assistant at Aboo, and I am glad to find him writing that he was "most anxious to get the wedge in amongst the Môghyas near Neemuch (*vide* pp. 377 and 386, vol. i.) I score

him as a giant come back refreshed. As noticed before, these Môghya robbers do not confine themselves to the particular tract above indicated, but spread into Harowtie also, and into the Central India States, of which the opium dacoitie in the Simrole Pass near Indore was a recent example (*vile* pp. 365, 385, vol. i.) Their depredations in that direction became so frequent, that in the absence of any effectual local police arrangements, the safety of the high road through Indore to Gwalior has now for some time been entrusted to a system of Cavalry
Patrols. cavalry patrols, assisted by a foot police of local Nujjees. A stretch of 180 miles of road, extending from *Dewás* to *Bhádurnwás*, is daily patrolled by that efficient body of irregular cavalry, the Central India Horse. It was by Môghyas that a Lieutenant Haig was a time back attacked and Lieut.
Haig
attacked
by
Môghyas. wounded. The spot chosen for the ambush was a wild part of the great trunk road about thirty miles from Indore and ten miles from the staging bungalow at Dewás. He was travelling in one of the conveyances of the "Government Bullock Train," journeying down country. At a dark hour of the night the train was waylaid and set upon. The officer defended himself, and, for the severe sword-cut he himself received, he dealt as good a one in exchange to one of his opponents, whereupon they all hastily left the spot, taking but an insignificant booty with them. This occurred a short time ago. A party of our special police was quickly despatched from Indore. Two of the plunderers were eventually arrested, of whom one

was the man who had been wounded, and he confessed. The gang was composed of certain Môghyas, twelve in number, whose names he gave. But we have no approvers of that tribe to support the statement, so that these fellows have their own way as yet, but we shall be even with them by-and-by. The admissions made by the two arrested men were of too partial a nature to satisfy me, and I therefore rejected the offer of their services. It is repugnant enough to be obliged to have recourse to approvers at all, but to enlist *bad ones*, goes against the grain entirely, however desirable I feel it to be to get information somehow or somewhere, upon which to make an effectual cast, against this enterprising robber tribe; but better make a good beginning, than be in a hurry and commence badly. A good approver is a valuable fellow, but a bad one involves a deal of trouble, and is sure to fail you. I desire to *hit* these Môghyas hard and surely.⁴

Sunnô-
reah
Thieves
and
Nûths.

17th August.—A letter from the Police, telling me of the arrest at Nagpore of “a large gang of *Sunnôreahs*,” from the *Tehree* district in Ben-

⁴ P.S.—I was subsequently at length able to submit a full report to the Government of India, of the long time depredations of these people, and of their habits as dacoits, and to commence systematic operations for their suppression. The body of information acquired enabled my successor in office, Major now Colonel Sir Edward Bradford, K.C.S.I., K.C.B., with the aid of the approvers I had myself admitted from the tribe, to follow up these first proceedings successfully, Government having, upon my recommendation, conceded to him, the employment of a distinct assistant for the special duty of conducting the operations against them, with headquarters at the central position of Neemuch, right in the heart of their settlements in that direction.

dlekund, and inquiring where any account might be found of the wandering tribes of India. — seems to regard this capture as a first revelation as to this race of born thieves, and of their thievish habits ! Alas for my printed “ List of the Wandering Tribes,” circulated so long back as 1852, and our published reports concerning these very *Sunnô-reahs* ! There is a want of articulation I fear in these matters, where it should not be. He tells me too, of the similar arrest by the police, of some *Nûths*, and inquires about them also, and whether they are not identical with the *Khaikarees*, and says “ we sadly want a Police Gazetteer for India ” ! Pigeon-holing—relegation to the dust-bin of official records—prevail, it is plain. — adds that the information respecting this *new discovery* is being printed for circulation, and that I shall be supplied with a copy of it :—Kind ! But full account of these people were published many years ago ! They are a remarkable race and practise a widespread system of plunder. Variouslly called *Sunnô-reahs* in Bendlekund their principal *locale*, *Dhunnojce Brahmins* in Guzerat, and *Thug Bhâts* in Sirôhi and other parts of Rajpootanah, gangs of them periodically sally forth every year and return with the proceeds of the booties acquired converted into money. They rob far and near, and will penetrate even to Calcutta and Bombay on their pilfering expeditions, coming back to their homes with some goodly present of jewellery or costly thing retained from their *loot*, with which to conciliate the chieftain or chief local authority

Sunnô-reah Procedure described.

where they are sheltered. Strictly *day thieves*, Sunnôreahs rob only between sunrise and sunset, a habit they rigidly observe ; and no temptation, no easy booty, no assurance of *swag* however easy to be acquired, will induce them to break through this rule. After sunset they become religiously honest folk, but at sunrise they remain no longer spell-bound ; and there is nothing, however valueless or trifling, which they will then abstain from pilfering. While so engaged they observe a code of signals, and converse by signs more expertly than perhaps any other known race of pickpockets and cutpurses, necessitated to it, my predecessor was of opinion, by the rule which prohibited them from robbing at any other than in daytime. The actual theft is the feat of a boy trained to the practice, and each young knave is attended at some little distance off, by an *Oostád* or instructor,⁵ who, acting as a sort of fogleman, by signs or by song from some vantage standpoint amid the bazaar crowd, directs the apt and all-attentive lad, *when* and *how* to approach the indicated article, the particular moment to *lift* and abscond with it, or to *hand it* to a confederate on the look-out hard by, and thus to pass it on from hand to hand, to beyond the outskirts of the listless folk thronging the visited *gunge* or market, or crowded about the open booth or stall marked for spoil. This being accomplished with much dexterity, the youth is soon lost in the multitude, or disappears by some side way : “ They move away with great rapidity,”

⁵ P.S.—Of the sixty Sunnôreahs seized on the above occasion by the Nagpore Police, twenty were boys.

reported the elder Sleeman, "and have relays in proportion to the weight of the article stolen and the distance which the chances of pursuit may make it necessary to have it conveyed at the first burst of discovery." The distance thus passed, will sometimes cover quite a hundred miles when the appropriated article has been costly and the local police considered to be vigilant. They paid a tax, it was added in our old Report, "to the landholders on whose estates they resided, and to the influential officers of the chieftains, if not to the chiefs themselves." In Guzerat they would pay this tax for protection and asylum to the Guicowár, who, remarked Sleeman, "seemed always to regard them as a very legitimate source of income." A good deal more of the same sort was reported by us of this dexterous class of professional thieves, which I must embody in a further report to the Government of India, in bringing to its notice this supposed *new discovery*.

We dined at the Club. A long talk with ———. At the Club.
The Chief had asked him whether he thought that he had now heard the last of the *Jervis affair*, and he had replied that he had *not*. I am to see the rejoinder.

18th August, Sunday.—Hugh and I walked in the forenoon to the top of the lofty peak overhanging the furthest rifle range, from where a beautiful view of the Snowy mountains. They seemed in the clear atmosphere to be quite close by.—At evening to church and a sermon upon not being religious overmuch. Alluring counsel where

The Snowy Range.
The Evening Sermon.

habitually there was a bent that way, *more majorum!* Pace, dear Pastor! Admitted you rather implied that your listeners, not *should be*, but *were not* righteous overmuch, though affecting to be so:—Nor do we on the other hand mean, looking at your exhortation the other way, that they should supinely yield to what they would complacently persuade themselves was seldom resisted, as though in justification for following the example. But then, you know, your very words might be quoted as of great authority!

The
Jervis
Case the
Topic at
Simlah.

19th August.—The great topic of conversation is the Commander-in-Chief's reply to the Duke's reprimand, and there is an eager desire that it should be made known. The impending war with Abyssinia pales before it in local interest, full as the newspapers are of the preparations for that expedition.

Italian
Concert.

A so-called "Italian Concert" this evening, was a disappointing affair, the principal singer having a cracked voice, dolefully unmusical, and the overture in all, *point harmonieux*.

20th August.—A day of heavy office work finished off with a large dinner party at home, a brother of my old Hampstead school-fellow *Hew Dalrymple*, the present Baronet of Berwick, here unexpectedly met with, being of the guests.

Sunnô-
reahs.

21st August.—Replying to the reference about the *Sunnôreahs* lately captured by the Nagpore Police (*vide* p. 262,) I say that reports regarding those people as criminals, had long since been submitted from the General Superintendent's Office, and been printed and circulated; that if the

persons now arrested really came from *Tehree* and *Chirkári* of Bendlekund, the police had no doubt got hold of the right sort, as that this class chiefly resided in those districts, *Bendlekund* being their general nursery ground ; that they were the most practised pickpockets and juggling thieves of all India, going periodically far distances on their thieving expeditions, and coming back with valuable booties, much of which they used as hush-money, and as consideration for the refuge allowed them by the local rajahs and zumeendars where they dwelt ; that as to the *Núths* also in custody (a class corresponding in many practices with the gipsies of Europe,) they more likely were *Bêriahs* than *Khaikárees*, as was supposed, the *Núths* resembling the *Bêriahs*, or rather that *Bêriahs* resembled *Núths* so closely in pursuits and practices, particularly in prostituting their women, and in the habit of kidnapping girls whom to bring up for that purpose, that they not only passed for them, but might be declared to be even identical people (although not so,) and that thus when “ *Bêriahs* ” were taken up, they were easily able to declare and make it be believed that they were harmless “ *Núths* ” or *showmen* and *tumblers* only—but that they were *not* *Khaikarees* ! Also that I had lately seen some printed papers proceeding from Nagpore and from another Chief Police Office, professing to circulate information, as though now also for the first time given, of the criminal habits of certain “ *Rinds* ” (sometimes locally called “ *Beloochees*,” and of the people known as *Kullubsázees* or false money coiners (v. pp. 129 to 134, vol. ii.) but of both

Núths and
Bêriahs.

Rinds
alias
Belooches

Money
Coiners.

of which classes full reports had also long previously been given by us, and been printed and circulated. I won't say our information is infallible, but I am bent on letting it be known that the special department had not been forestalled in acquiring what is now professed to have been *discovered*, and that the new police have yet to *hark back* a bit before they are able to run upon any new scent.* *Sub jánta* or "knowing everything" has been too long, and not perhaps inaptly, though in banter, applied as our *sobriquet*, and I am unwilling to forego the earned *distinction* even if it be to plume to do so. We must *kick the beam*, if we would be useful and stand by our patent for speciality !

A sudden
down-
pour.

In my evening walk round Jako mountain got caught in a very heavy downpour, and was wetted to the skin. Met several ladies helplessly seated in open *jánpáns* at the opposite end of the long way, undergoing the same pitiless shower-bath, the rain having fallen most suddenly as if let out from some flood-gate.

22nd August.—An expedition to Abyssinia being decided upon, Hugh, who is all ambitious to take part in it, applied to-day to Sir Robert Napier, the reputed Commander, to be attached to one of the Irregular Horse Corps selected for the service. I write to Merewother, about to hold an

* P.S.—A question of some importance, had been referred from my office, to the local Government concerned, and, on my receiving no decision, I asked a Member of the Council to inquire about it. Learning from the Secretariat that the papers on the subject had been sent direct to the Governor, he inquired of the latter whether it was so, who replied he did not remember them. Search was made for the missing documents at Government House, and they were at length found put away under His Excellency's sofa pillow. He admittedly had *slept* upon them.

important command in it, offering to be attached to the Intelligence Department.

23rd August.—A Hindoo festival to-day—office closed—out all day returning neglected visits—the expedition to Abyssinia the topic everywhere, and a great desire shown, that at least a column of the Bengal Army should be told off to join it, *and not to leave everything to Bombay!* A good deal of pressure is being exercised up here on the subject, and it will prevail.

A telegram was received to-day from home, saying that *Jervis* was reinstated. Met the Chief shortly afterwards. He certainly looked very thoughtful. It is supposed he must resign, or will be told he must do so. He is too strong-minded I think for that. There was insubordination, and he was bound to meet it rather than to shield himself from inquiry at the expense of discipline. All aides are in some measure mixed up in the household matters of their Chiefs, but that is no reason on which to tolerate or uphold contumacy or defiance, born of that kindly intimacy and the sufferance it is productive of. Simple dismissal might have been a corrective, but it would have been an evasion—for look at the whole case:—Apart from “Pickles” the only *amari aliquid* and regrettable part of the question, the several acts of defiance, the tone and attitude assumed when Donald Stewart, the Deputy Adjutant-General, was sent to the offender for his sword, the vituperation, the scandal, all public and open-mouthed—was all that to be borne in silence by the Head

A Bengal
Column
for
Abyssinia.

Re-
monred
Rein-
statement
of Jervis.
The
Subject
con-
sidered.

of the Army—was he to be *afraid* of an inquiry who had no ground to fear, except in that one matter which disclosed how too confiding he had been as a host, how indulgent as a patron towards his personal protégé?—Sir William will battle the watch yet!

Midnight
Drench-
ing.

24th August.—Weather very foggy, with plenty of rain; so much rain that, returning at midnight from the Club, where I had a small party at dinner, we were drenched by it.

Dinner at
"Wood-
ville."

25th August, Sunday.—To church in the forenoon. Hugh too unwell to accompany me to dinner at the Chief's usual Sunday party.

The
Estimate
for Abyss-
inia.

Com-
mand of
the Expe-
dition to
Abyss-
inia.
Bengal
details for
it.

26th August.—The expedition to Abyssinia is very popular from the chivalrous cause for it. Mr. Massey, the Finance Member of Council, said last night, that he had telegraphed home to grant a million of money towards it.⁶ Sir Robert Napier is to command it as Generalissimo and Plenipotentiary, as Outram was in the Persian war, and Bengal is, after all, to furnish details equal to the command of a Brigadier-General (p. 269.) Sir Robert as a Bengal officer, must, it is supposed, have been easily persuaded to this, although in command of the Bombay Army to whose sea-board the war appertains.

A long conversation last night on the subject, led to my being favoured to-day with the perusal of the Chief's replies to the Duke's reprimand in the Jervis case. He will *not* resign his command

⁶ P.S.—The war, from first to last, cost nine millions!

for all the recent telegrams that Captain Jervis had been reinstated, and, to my mind, he is quite right.

We have a Government Notification out, re-
gulating the transmission of Memorials to the Secretary of State, or to Her Majesty, by private individuals or Government employés. Every such document is to be submitted through the Government under which the petitioner resides or is employed, and to be forwarded home by it with every necessary information, except when relating to pensions and such pecuniary matters, or leave of absence, in which case the memorial should be sent through the Financial Department. In every case the local Government or Administration is to be the medium of appeal, and each sheet of a memorial is to bear the signature of the petitioner. All vernacular appeals are to be accompanied, when forwarded to England, with translations in English, correctly rendered, copies to be made and retained by the forwarding Government, and the originals not to be detained longer than a month. Certain memorials may be declined and returned, prominently when couched in disrespectful language; or when a decision on the subject of it has already been vouchsafed; or when palpably devoid of claim; or an application for employment; or an appeal from a judicial decision; or when it is illegible or unintelligible; or when the petitioner, already in Government employ, seeks for some prospective advantage in respect to pension. My guardian (one of the

Regarding Memorials.

Court of Directors,) advised me, when I was coming out as a cadet, "Never memorialize."

Thug
Poisoning
in Ben-
dlekund.

27th August.—A few days ago two Hindoos were joined on the road by a Mussulman in Bendlekund. It was raining, and they took shelter at a Hindoo place of worship by the way. The stranger gave some spiced sugar to the two travellers, saying, "it was of a sort to remove fatigue." They became insensible, and in that condition they were robbed. The report says they have recovered. Nothing ascertained of the culprits.

Dacoitie
in Goruck-
pore.

Then in the Goruckpore district, a band of twenty armed dacoits entered the village of *Roháree*, with lighted torches, one midnight lately, burst into the house of two *bukháls* or shopkeepers, ill-treated all the inmates of the dwelling, and fled with plunder estimated at 2575 rupees, of whom no traces have been acquired.

Command
of the
Bengal
Column
for Abyss-
sinia.
Great
Excite-
ment.

At evening met Colonel Norman, the Adjutant-General. He was very close about the arrangements for the Bengal column intended for Abyssinia, but I know that *Donald Stewart* is to command it, with *Roberts* as his Assistant Quarter-master-General—both up here on the Head-quarters' Staff.—Great excitement among the officers gathered at evening on the Mall, to join the expedition being the aspiration of everyone. The Chief has had 200 applications volunteering for the service within the last two days.

General
and Mrs.
Main-
waring.

Among our guests at dinner this evening were General and Mrs. Mainwaring, who both were

among the hostages taken by Akhbar Khan in the disaster in Affghanistan in 1842.

28th August. — Have at length received from Ward the file in the case of the recaptured *Jowahirra Durzee* (*vide* pp. 177, 182, 252, vol. ii.) His revelations are delightful. He has narrated not only how his rescue was effected, but the details of thirteen acts of dacoitie committed by him in Berar prior to a previous arrest (when he was sentenced to decapitation—*vide* p. 190, vol. i.,) eight others between his escape on that occasion, and his capture in a dacoitie near Poonah (*vide* footnote, p. 166, vol. ii.,) and yet two more between his second escape from Jalnah and his present final recapture in Khan-deish, the two latter acts being, one, an adroit robbery of a quantity of bank notes from the house of a wealthy shroff situated in the town of Bombay, and the other, the recent dacoitie near *Khundwah*, in which a rich booty in cash and silver ballion was obtained (*vide* p. 125, vol. ii.)

Jowahirra Durzee:
How the
Prisoners
were
rescued
at Jalnah.

But before proceeding further I would here give some account of the career of this remarkable dacoit, although at the risk of becoming involved in some repetition of the tale given in an earlier part of the present Journal (vol. i., p. 186 *et seq.*), so intimately connected with the circumstances there narrated, being the history of this man. He is a fine-looking fellow, resembling in that regard his sometime associate *Sadoollah Náee* (*vide* pp. 185, 198, vol. i.,) now become one of our most zealous approvers. Nor should we regard contemptuously individuals with such very tame affixes to their

Career of
Jowahirra Durzee.

names as *Durzee* and *Náee* (tailor and barber,) for these are but their *caste-nymics*, and do not, however originally applied, betoken their exclusive occupations, or that they are identical with the daily toilers so called. For in Rajpootanah, and some parts of India, persons with such surnames, make first-class fighting men, in the same relation that the "Kaleefa" or caliph—a complimentary distinction accorded among Mahomedans to *tailors*, on account of their conspicuous prowess—is known to be a first-rate swordsman, or that the courageous *Bhistee* or humble water-carrier, is assented a place in Paradise—*Bihisht*—not only on account of his twice-blessed vocation, but in recognition of his unfailing devotion as the close companion in the thickest fight of the athirst "faithful," as he is to this day of our battling soldiery, European and Native.⁷ Anyhow, these two men, *Sadoollah* and *Jowahirra*, both fine handsome fellows, are very capable dacoits of the

Cogno-
mina.

⁷ P.S.—I quote from a Report on this subject of a subsequent date :—"It is a peculiarity in India that the *name* which denoted the original occupation of a people to which it appertains, and by which they continue to be distinguished, becomes, in course of time, their *generic* appellation only, and is by no means a test of their individual vocations. The designation may belong to the *ostensible*, recognized occupation of them all bodily, but it scarcely denotes their real livelihood. *Dick Turpin* and *Jack Sheppard*, were, I believe, the sons of carpenters, but they were not the less highwaymen and housebreakers. Among the Rhatore dacoits this Department is now dealing with, are several "*Durzees*," "*Náees*," and "*Burráhees*." Are they simply *tailors*, *barbers*, and *carpenters*, who have never touched needle, razor, or chisel? Or are so many "*Brahmins*" among dacoits, *not* dacoits because they belong to the sacerdotal class? And if "*Gola-wándloos*" and "*Yeddiers*" (milkmen and cowherds,) do *not* belong to the

boldest type. The story is a long one, but I recount it as a *dénouement* of what I had previously said of these roving bands of plunderers from Rajpootanah, and of their feats (pp. 190 to 193, vol. i.)

Jowahirra and three of his accomplices in dacoitie, one being the accomplished leader *Mulla Jât*—one of those to have been beheaded—had, as mentioned before, been taken into custody in Hydrabad territory by the agents of the plundered parties for the treasure dacoitie at *Ootradapet*

criminal classes in Madras (the contention down Madras,) why are so many of them arrested in Madras districts for dacoitie, house-breaking at night, and other crimes?"

To this was added the following explanatory footnote, following what *Ainsworth* had written of the subject:—"As a rule in the records of crime the professional *cognomina* attached to prominent characters bear no reference to the pursuits of the individuals themselves. They rather refer to some *calling* which the bearer of the *sobriquet* either once belonged to, or was intended or brought up for; sometimes even to some personal peculiarity in no way connected with any calling whatever. Some of the most distinguished London ruffians enjoy such titles as 'Bill the Coster,' 'Butcher Mike,' long after *Bill* has ceased to be a costermonger, or *Mike* has preferred garrotting fellow-creatures to slaughtering bullocks. An analogy may be noted in the case of the Guerilla warfare carried on by Spanish villagers during the Peninsula war. The captain of one band was still 'The Doctor,' of another 'The Chaplain,' although as bandit leaders both had adopted measures more summary than was formerly, we may suppose, their wont for releasing bodies and souls from the impediments of life! A still stronger analogy may be observed in the case of some of our oldest English family names, originally only *surnames* of an hereditary calling. Every soldier, sailor, clergyman, doctor, and barrister, has known members of his own profession bearing such names as *Smith, Fuller, Taylor, Fletcher, Miller, Baker, Sadler, Archer, Borman, etc.*" (*Report from Colonel Charles Hervey to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 552, dated 30th April, 1872, para. 19 and footnote (b.).*)

(*vide* pp. 186 to 188, vol. i.,) and at their instance been set at liberty by the frontier officer in the service of the Nizam, on a compromise to restore the plunder—valued at Rs. 33,340 in gold and silver bullion and cash. They thereupon promptly produced a sum of 13,000 rupees accordingly, promising to give more on their acquiring a fresh booty. On Ward's remonstrance with the Hyderabad Durbar at this reprehensible proceeding, they were re-delivered into custody through the instrumentality of the principal despoiled party, he having, in point of fact, stood security for their reappearance should it be demanded, and had kept them at hand. They were thereupon tried for the dacoitie, and as it was attended with murder and wounding, they were, by an award of the Nizam's Court of Judicature at Jalnah, sentenced to be beheaded,* but before that sentence could be carried out, they (the Rohilla excepted,) were enabled, by the connivance of the native jail guard, to effect their escape through some undue influence connected, it was supposed, with the still to be fulfilled promise of restitution of the rest of the plunder (*vide* pp. 190, 195, vol. i.) Urged now to fulfil their compact, the gang next committed another heavy dacoitie, as before shown, on another consignment of treasure while under conveyance upon a couple of country carts from the railway station of *Mulka-pore* in Berar,* where it had just

* *Vide* p. 196, vol. i.

* The four thus sentenced men were—(1) Mulla, *alias* Mulhar, *alias* Khooljee and Khoonjee, caste Ját; (2) Hema, *alias* Siputjee, *alias* Sookjee, caste Malee; (3) Jowahirra Durzee, *alias* Manjee; and (4) Abbas Khan, a Rohilla.

been received from Bombay for the purchase of cotton, a remittance of 66,000 rupees in coin and bullion, information whereof had been acquired by the man *Jowahirra* himself, by bribing the traitorous local native agent of the remitters of it. One only of the carts was plundered, and that only partially, for day had dawned, and the robbers had only just time to bury their plunder and disperse. They were not opposed, the only two Sepoys in charge, and the cart driver, having fled the moment the plunderers appeared. Some went straightway back to the railway station. *Jowahirra* and another (*Oodah*) proceeded by train from *Bhoosáwul* to Bombay, others went off to their different meeting-places round about. A month subsequently they dug out their booty, and to keep faith with the agent who had betrayed the consignment, *Jowahirra* and another, at once went and paid him the promised remuneration of 2000 rupees. They next paid up a sum of 10,000 rupees in further restitution of the plunder obtained in the previous robbery, besides a satisfaction of 1100 rupees as hush-money exacted from them by the knave *Sircceram* residing at *Jalnah*, who had threatened to report them (*vide* pp. 197, vol. i., and 166 vol. ii.) Information, however (of the robbers being to be found in *Berar*,) having meanwhile reached the plundered parties, they employed the man *Jeevun Sing*, the well-known double character before mentioned (pp. 164, 190, 191, vol. i., and 22, 32, 73, 253, vol. ii.,) at that time residing at *Oomraotee* in secret association

with these dacoits, to trace them out, on the threat to report him to the local authorities if he did not for them also effect a compromise with the gang for restitution of their losses in the recent act of plunder. He, in his turn, threatened them—for their several *dêrahs* or trysts were well known to him—and they thereupon gave over to him a sum of 5000 rupees “as all that was left of their prize,” the total proceeds of which they had indeed by these payments exceeded. Thirteen men, including the two leaders of the gang, *Mulla Jât* and *Kishen Sing*, were arrested on suspicion for this dacoitie, but they were released by the local magistrate on the ground of insufficient evidence, etc., as before stated of this affair (p. 196, vol. i.) It was not long after this that when travelling about alone in Berar for information, I learnt that Jowahirra, Mulla Jât, and the two others sentenced with them to be beheaded, so far from having been so executed, as we had been led to suppose from the communication received from the Nizam’s Durbar, were, on the contrary, at large, committing dacoitie !

Being still under covenant to restore the rest of the plunder in the Ootradapet affair, and “in honour bound” to do so (stricter in that sense, being robbers, than some others ordinarily are,) Jowahirra moved up from Bombay with information of the despatch from there of another rich remittance to Berar for the purchase of cotton. At the Julgam station in Berar he learnt from secret agents there located, that it had actually arrived there and was about to be sent on upon

camels to Hoosingabad. He quickly assembled the gang, and followed up the convoy from stage to stage. The consignment was a very large one, nearly a lakh and a half of rupees, and being attended by Sepoys of the Line, the robbers had to be very cautious, "owing to the alertness of the guard." Not till arrival in Khandeish was the opportunity at last acquired to fall upon and plunder it. This was at *Sowndah* (p. 197, vol. i.,) as far only as which point of the route the guard had orders to escort it. The robbers were not to be deterred by the fact that the convoy had alighted for that night close to the local police station—the guard of Sepoys had gone away, and that was all they wanted. For one or two of their scouts had daily moved along with the train and learnt every particular. The booty acquired was great, upwards of one lakh and thirty thousand rupees in money and bullion. But the affair terminated with disaster to the dacoits, as before narrated (p. 199, vol. i.,) for not only were several of them captured by the Khandeish Bheel Police, *Mulla Jât*, the leader of the gang, his brother, *Lutchman Jât*, and *Sadoollah Nâee*, being of the number, but a good deal of their plunder was recovered, etc., etc., as already told.

Jowahirra Durzee himself and his friend *Oodah* <sup>Oodah.
Jât.</sup> *Jât*, one of the gang, on this occasion got clear away. They fled to Bombay, from where after a while, they came up to Poonah, where they lodged in the city with some other associates there assembled—numbering now no more than about a

Dacoities
at (1) Pul-
loos (Sat-
tarah),
(2) Pábull
(Shola-
pore),
(3) Mullád
(Satta-
rah.)

dozen men in all. They stayed there for about a couple of months on the look-out for booty, flitting in the interval thus engaged, by railway between Bombay on the one side, and Sholapore on the other. Running short of means, eight of their number proceeded on like research in the direction of *Sattarah*. There they learnt of the despatch of a quantity of gold *venetians* and other money laden upon a *tattoo* or pony. Waiting for this on the roadside, they fell upon it soon after nightfall at a spot near *Pulloos*, and returned forthwith with the booty to their rendezvous at Poonah and there divided it. The gang next followed a cart conveying treasure from Poonah along the high road to *Bársee* in the direction of Sholapore, and fell upon it also one night near *Pábull*, but were baulked of their booty through some false alarm. They then revisited *Sattarah*, leaving a couple of their number at Poonah on the look-out. They there presently learnt of the despatch from *Phultun*, of some more treasure and some piece goods laden upon a cart for conveyance to Sholapore. They followed this cart and plundered it after dark at *Mullád* near *Páramuttee*, the three men in charge running away; value of booty about 5000 rupees. Burying this in the jungle, they made off for Poonah, but had not proceeded far when some of their number were intercepted by some *Rámoosees* or village watchmen, and conducted to Poonah, where those who had stayed there and the others who had preceded them, had also been meanwhile arrested, *Jowahirra and Oodah being of the number*.

But although recognized to have been staying together in one place at Poonah, nothing was found upon any of them to strengthen further suspicion. Those seized on the road were thereupon released who at once went and dug out the buried booty ; but the others were held in custody under requisitions for security. I heard of this detention while again travelling early last year (1866) in Hyderabad territory, and on the ground that one at least among them, namely the man *Jowahirra*, was of the number capitally convicted in the *Oolradapet* affair, I requested their transfer to Ward's custody at Jalnah for further inquiries (*vide* footnote p. 166, vol. ii.) *Jowahirra*, *Oodah*, and *Ramnath*, another of the subsequently rescued four, were thereupon sent to Jalnah. These three persons, and *Hurree Sing*, re-arrested at Hyderabad, now thought it prudent partially to reveal some of their misdeeds to Captain Ward, but they had scarcely done so, and while yet the several affairs they had narrated were under reference to the different local authorities, when the man *Hurree Sing*'s brother *Kishen Sing*, one of the two * The names of the four rescued prisoners were (1) *Jowahirra Durzee*, (2) *Oodah Ját*, (3) *Hurree Sing* (brother of the renowned *Kishen Sing*), (4) *Ramnath*. leaders in the *Mulkapore* affair (*vide* p. 196, vol. i.,) whose part in which he, *Kishen Sing*, knew they had revealed, appeared one night with *Motee Sing* *Meena*, at the gate of Ward's Lock-up, forced the sentinel there, climbed over the wall, and boldly rescued *Jowahirra*, *Oodah*, *Hurree Sing* and *Ramnath*, and carried them safely back on camel-back in the manner already described (*vide* pp. 29 and 163, vol. i.*)

Jowahirra's
Confrère,
Oodah.

Jowahirra now went with Oodah to his old haunt in Bombay, and by robbery, acquired while there a lot of bank notes. Oodah after this went away to Khandeish, and when the hue and cry for Oodah's recapture (*vide* p. 347, vol. i.) had toned down a little, Jowahirra himself once more appeared in the open country, and planned and successfully carried out the recent further treasure dacoitie at Desgam near *Khundwah*, mentioned at the time of its occurrence (*vide* p. 125, vol. ii.) He fled to Nassick—from there by-and-by he again went to Bombay—then dodged back again to Nassick, and upon information *treacherously supplied by his friend and companion Oodah*, Jowahirra was at length finally captured in Khandeish, as already set forth (*vide* pp. 177, 182, 252, vol. ii.) and sent back, as above, with Oodah and some other prisoners to Ward's custody at Jalnah.*

29th August.—Here then is Jowahirra Durzee's

* P.S.—All this will be found, if followed, to fit in with the entire tale respecting the movements of these two men, and with the events connected therewith in the order of date. The rescue of Jowahirra Durzee, of Oodah, and the other two who had escaped with them, was effected on the night of the 5th November, 1866—the first treasure robbery near Burwai, on the night of the 26th February, 1867. Oodah having fled to Nassick, changed from there to Dhoolia in Khandeish, and there joined some of his tribesmen come down from Rajpootanah on dacoitie. On the night of the 4th March, 1867,* he, in a gang numbering *six men*, plundered the mail bags two miles out of *Dhoolia*, seriously wounding the Dak runner in charge of them. The tracks of *six* persons wearing Hindostani shoes, were by such footprints carried to some rocky ground, and there the plundered letters were found scattered about and the empty mail wallet (p. 341, vol. i.) Rhatore strangers were known to have been staying in Dhoolia for some time and they were suspected. The gang thereupon shifted to *Munmir*, a railway station handy for further flight. Six nights

* Memo: 5th March erroneously stated at p. 341, vol. i.

account, as just translated by me, of the manner in which he and his fellows were rescued from Ward's little jail (*vide* p. 281, vol. ii. :) "Hurree Sing had some time before managed to send a message to his brother *Kishen Sing* of our being in confinement here (Jalnah;) the latter returned a reply from *Boorhanpore* (one of their news centres.) This was communicated to Hurree Sing by *Kyum Sing*, one of our fellow prisoners, to whom it was signified by his servant when we were taken outside for ablution of a morning. Oodjee and I were studiously kept unaware of what was going on, Hurree Sing and Ramnath only knowing all about it. At length two steel clasp knives with

The Story
of their
Rescue by
Kishen
Sing
Jemadar.

subsequently (10th March, 1867,) they plundered a cart laden with goods (some English boots, etc.,) on the road leading from that place to *Malligam*, and obtained a booty valued at 2000 rupees. The same description of footprints of six persons were again taken up from the spot of this repeated robbery and followed up successfully to *Munnár*, and there *Oodah* and another were, *by their shoes of up-country manufacture*, taken into custody (p. 347, vol. i.) But nothing besides the mere conjecture being established against them, they were set at liberty before I could intervene. I wrote back claiming *Oodah* as one of the rescued *Jalnah* fugitives, and requested his recapture. This could not be immediately carried out, for he went off to *Bombay*, there rejoined *Jowahirra*, and with him went to *Kullán*. From there they went up to *Khundwah* and committed the second treasure robbery in that neighbourhood (at *Desgam* on the 17th June, 1867, narrated at pp. 125 and 290, vol. ii.) *Jowahirra* and *Oodah* fled to *Nassick*. From there they presently parted company. *Oodah* was hereupon luckily discovered by the *Khandeish Bheel Police*, when, to obtain consideration without revealing himself, he treacherously betrayed his friend and companion *Jowahirra Durzee*, who having just then come up from *Bombay*, was thereupon arrested by the *Khandeish Police* at *Newree* on the 11th July, 1867. He and *Jowahirra* were then, at my request, transferred along with some other "wanted" men to *Ward* at *Jalnah*, as stated in the text (*vide* pp. 318, 341, 347, vol. i., and 125, 182, vol. ii.)

file blades and a separate small steel file, procured at Bombay, were conveyed to Hurree Sing by his servant outside ; and Oodjee and I were then told, under an oath of secrecy, of what was intended, that *Kishen Sing was coming down to rescue us !* The instruments, folded in a cloth, were deposited where the servant usually cleaned his master's platters of a morning outside of the jail. This about a week prior to our escape, and the next morning we were provided in the same manner with some bullets, small shot, and gun caps ; and *Hurree Sing* obtained likewise a sum of 25 rupees sent down to him by his brother.¹ We commenced cutting through our fetters with the instruments thus provided, on the following day, and we daily contrived to do so, a little by little, in the shed where we used to cook our food. We also did so at night by sitting up on

¹ Extracts from a letter from Captain W. G. Ward, written on the morning of the escape, *Jalnah*, 6th November, 1866 : " I was out at the spot by two o'clock, and searched round by the river and in the nullahs till daylight, but without success. The officer commanding the station sent out cavalry pickets at an early hour to scour the country. They came back at evening without any tidings of the fugitives. Near the jail were found their irons. *These had been filed through.* . . . It is difficult to understand how they had the opportunity to cut their fetters unless they did so when taken of a morning to the river. An accomplice could easily secrete a file in the sand and with the chain under water, it could be used noiselessly when the man was supposed to be washing himself. . . . I think they must have closed the eyes of the sentries with rupees. There was a hole near the *choolas* which the prisoners cooked food upon, from where we suppose they had dug out hidden money with which they probably bribed them. I had all their cooking places dug up, and discovered a little bag concealed in the ground containing *forty-eight gun caps of sizes, fourteen bullets, and about a dram of gunpowder.* Kyum Sing did not escape. I hold him still."

our bedding. In six days three of us had managed to cut through their leg irons sufficiently, but I myself had by the seventh day cut through the ring only which connected my two fetters together.² *Kishen Sing* appeared in due course at one o'clock at night of a Saturday. I remember that the following day was a Sunday. He had beforehand had it intimated to us through the same outside man, to be in readiness to escape that night, and at about that hour; so that just before one o'clock *Ramnath* and I arose from our sleeping-places, upon which both *Hurree Sing* and *Oodjee* also did so. The *Nujceeb* on sentry over us inside, was seated on the window-sill, leaning against the wall of it. We saw he was asleep, and we thereupon passed out into the yard. There, within the opened doorway of the outer and larger gate of the enclosure, *Kishen Sing* was awaiting us, accompanied by *Motee Sing Meena* and by a *Kaimkhánee* or camel-man named *Sulla*. *Ramnath* silently led the way out through the outer gate, followed by myself and by the other two fugitives, our rescuers bringing up the rear. When we had come out,

² P.S.—Not that files are indispensably necessary for such purposes, for threads overlaid with pounded glass or emery powder, have occasionally served these ingenious robbers to a like end. Thirty of our worst characters confined on one occasion in the central jail at *Agra* in view to their better security, contrived by patient daily operation, to cut off their irons simultaneously, by means of cotton threads manufactured from their prison clothes and secretly covered by them with gum mixed up with pounded glass procured when taken outside for gang labour or ablutions, and rose suddenly upon their guard; but four only of their number managed to effect escape, eleven of the lot being cut down by the jail warders and the rest prevented.

* The town quarter of Jalnah is so called.

Kishen Sing went up to the Infantry Sepoy on duty at that post, and suddenly presented his gun at his breast. The man was at the time leaning up against the wall with his musket at the support. He remained mute and raised no alarm whatever ; so we stealthily passed out and proceeded straight-way along by the front of the gate leading into *Kadirábád* the town,* on to a nullah where were fastened *three camels in readiness for us*. I and Oodjee mounted one of these, Kishen and Motee sat upon another armed with guns, and Ramnath, Hurree and the camel-man together rode upon the third animal. The entrance into the jail enclosure was effected by climbing over a low part of the wall. Motee and the camel-man had come there, they told us, as early as nine o'clock that night, concealing themselves in the interval in a deserted little temple close by there. Kishen said the sentry at whom he lifted his gun declaring he would shoot him if he stirred, got very frightened and stood up against the jail wall *stock still*, but before that, was leaning against it, lazily supporting his musket. When we had got clear away upon our camels, we passed on to the trunk road which leads to Oomraotee and Nagpore, and, avoiding all villages, by dawn had got as far as *Peepulgam* (one of their *déráhs*.) By ten o'clock that morning we reached *Maikur*, passing on from where we entered the jungle, and there in a nullah where were some mangoe trees, we drew up and cooked some food. We then pushed on, travelling in this manner till seven o'clock that evening. Kishen Sing here left us, accompanied by Motee Sing and the Kaim-

khánee, while we four who had been rescued, proceeded close by *Akôlah* by concert to *Mulkaipore*. Kishen Sing subsequently also came there accompanied by the Berar Police Inspector Choutmull, to whom we then paid over for his silence, a sum of 2000 rupees, which we had buried in that neighbourhood from what Oodjee, Hurree Sing and I had put by there from our shares in the dacoitie we had committed in that vicinity (*vide* p. 277, vol. ii.) Ram-náth, who was not in that affair, had nothing at hand from which to pay towards the exaction. Kishen Sing and his brother Hurree Sing now went on to Rajpootanah. They were accompanied by Choutmull, who was also going up there to be married." Thus was confirmed the story of their interception at Ajmore on betrayal by Choutmull! (*vide* pp. 163, 164, 182, 183, vol. i.)

30th August.—The further confessions of Jowahirra Durzee received from Ward, reveal that he was cognizant of, although not actually present in, the treasure dacoitie on the high road near *Burnai*, of occurrence on the 26th February last (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) He says that this robbery was carried out by a small mixed gang of Meenas and Rhatores, eight persons only in all, under a Rhatore leader named *Mehtáb Sing*, and gives a particular account of the details of it, agreeing in all essential points with the actual occurrence, adding that the gang was deputed by the now notorious Jeewun Sing, to look out for booty on the highway between Indore and the railway terminus at Khundwah "where much treasure was daily on the road," and that when the police report of its occurrence reached

About the
Burwai
Dacoitie
on
Treasure.

the head police office,³ he (Jeewun Sing) procured his own deputation to Khundwah for the declared

³ P.S.—The following was the special local police report of this robbery: "On the 22nd February, 1867, one *Ramlial*, the agent of *Seonath Ramnith*, despatched, by railway from Bombay, seven boxes of treasure valued at 32,000 rupees, for *Seojeeram Salugram* at Indore. It reached Khundwah at 9 p.m. of the 23rd February, and was at once conveyed to the house of the local agent, representing both the transmitting Sahoooar and the consignee. It remained there till the 25th, awaiting arrival from Indore of two agents appointed to take charge of it. These arrived late on the evening of the 25th, whereupon a couple of carts, hired from the Transit Agency, were laden with the treasure and sent off from Khundwah at near 12 o'clock the same night, the party being joined by another agent of the said *Seojeeram* lately come down from Indore with a convoy of opium. On the following night, at about 10 or 11 o'clock, on the road three miles beyond *Burwai*, the carts were waylaid by a gang of about fifteen persons provided with *lathes* (long staves). They drove one cart, upon which were four boxes of treasure valued at 18,000 rupees, off the road into the jungle—the other cart was rapidly driven on, and it safely reached the small mail stage of *Oomreah*, three miles farther on, just as the mail cart also arrived there. The driver of the mail cart was requested to report the circumstance at Burwai, but by the time he had reached the spot where the carts had been waylaid (and which was on his way), he found the police and several people already there. The surrounding jungles were that night and the following day scoured by the police, aided by the people of Burwai and the neighbouring three hamlets, and information of the robbery despatched the same night in various directions, and all the roads and especially the ferries watched; but neither the treasure nor the robbers have been traced, for these had nearly an hour's start of the police. The great weight of the treasure forbids supposition that it has been carried away to any distance—such a load could hardly have been carried through dense jungle at night by men committing a crime, the success of which depended on silence and rapidity of movement. It is surprising that there should be so little crime on this road considering the enormous traffic upon it in value and in bulk, the wild country through which it runs, some portion being in foreign territory, too, and the great facilities for concealment and escape presented by the dense jungles bordering it, while there is every encouragement to commit robbery by the extraordinary indifference and recklessness (as shown in the present instance,) of the me

